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The Beaver

CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

August | September 2006

WAS JACK THE RIPPER CANADIAN?

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Things That Move, Season 2 (Broadcast Premiere)

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Join host Jeff Douglas in another season of Things That Move, a series that explores the genesis of going mobile. From the Zamboni and the wheelchair to the electric car and the elevator, Jeff learns about the technological innovation and historical confluence that has led to our traveling in more interesting ways. Each episode focuses on a unique machine and examines the struggles and triumphs of its history – delving into the inner workings of the machine itself and its effects on our daily lives. This season Jeff examines a new set of mobile inventions from the hearse to the racing yacht.

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August 7-13, beginning at 8 p.m. ET/9 p.m. PT

The passing of time can be marked by the weaponry used throughout history's battles. With each time period, weapons became more sophisticated as the threat of attack or an aggressor's interests increased. But there was one advancement that revolutionized battle technology so profoundly that its effects are still felt today. From its most primitive forms to the split of an atom, bombing changed face of warfare forever. Join History Television in a week-long examination of the most prolific weapon in history.

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Tuesday, August 15 at 8 p.m. ET/9 p.m. PT

Filmed over four years, The Black Road tells the story of Aceh's struggle for independence from Indonesian rule. Journalist turned filmmaker William Nesson risks his life to go deep into the conflict and lives of the Acehnese, wrestling with the dilemma of remaining an observer in a place of terrible misdeeds.

JAG-stravaganza

August 28 – September 1 at 7 p.m. ET/8 p.m. PT

Starting August 1, JAG fans get the chance to weigh in on what they love most about their favourite show. Viewers have a month to vote on-line and choose popular episodes in three themed categories. History Television will celebrate the long-running series by broadcasting four episodes in the winning theme. The week culminates on September 1 with the broadcast of the series finale.

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The Beaver
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Canada

Jack and all that

In *The Beaver*, we occasionally feature stories about Canadians who have made good abroad. In a forthcoming edition, for instance, we have scheduled a story about Toronto's Maud Allan, who was a dance sensation in Edwardian London. In this edition, however, we have one of those rare stories about a Canadian who made bad. Spectacularly bad.

McGill University medical school graduate and convicted serial killer Thomas Neill Cream might have fallen to the footnotes of crime annals if he wasn't included in the roster of those suspected of being Jack the Ripper, the man who murdered and mutilated a number of prostitutes in London's Whitechapel slums in the autumn of 1888. Jack may be regarded as the first serial killer of the modern media age. Late Victorian London had no shortage of newspapers and all of them, highbrow and low, went into a frenzy over the killings. Interest has never wholly abated. According to one estimate, an average of one book a year has been produced since 1888 on the Ripper – "Ripperature" it's called in some quarters – and the twentieth century has spawned novels, films, and musicals on this now archetypal bogeyman. In the twenty-first century – in 2003, to be precise – American mystery novelist Patricia Cornwell posited that German-born artist Walter Richard Sickert was the murderer in *Portrait of a Killer: Jack the Ripper – Case Closed*. The title is hubristic, and her argument appears to have swayed few. Jack the Ripper's identity remains one of those eternal mysteries – well, nearly eternal – a more gruesome edition of such enigmas as the whereabouts of socks that disappear in the dryer or Céline Dion's enduring popularity. Part of the Ripper's continuing fascination is the mystery. Firmly establishing his identity might, in the end, prove disappointing, akin to the deflating revelation last year that Deep Throat, Bob Woodward's parking-garage informer through the Watergate scandal, was some second-ranking official at the FBI named W. Mark Felt – a name so unmemorable I had to look it up on Google.

THOMAS FRICKE

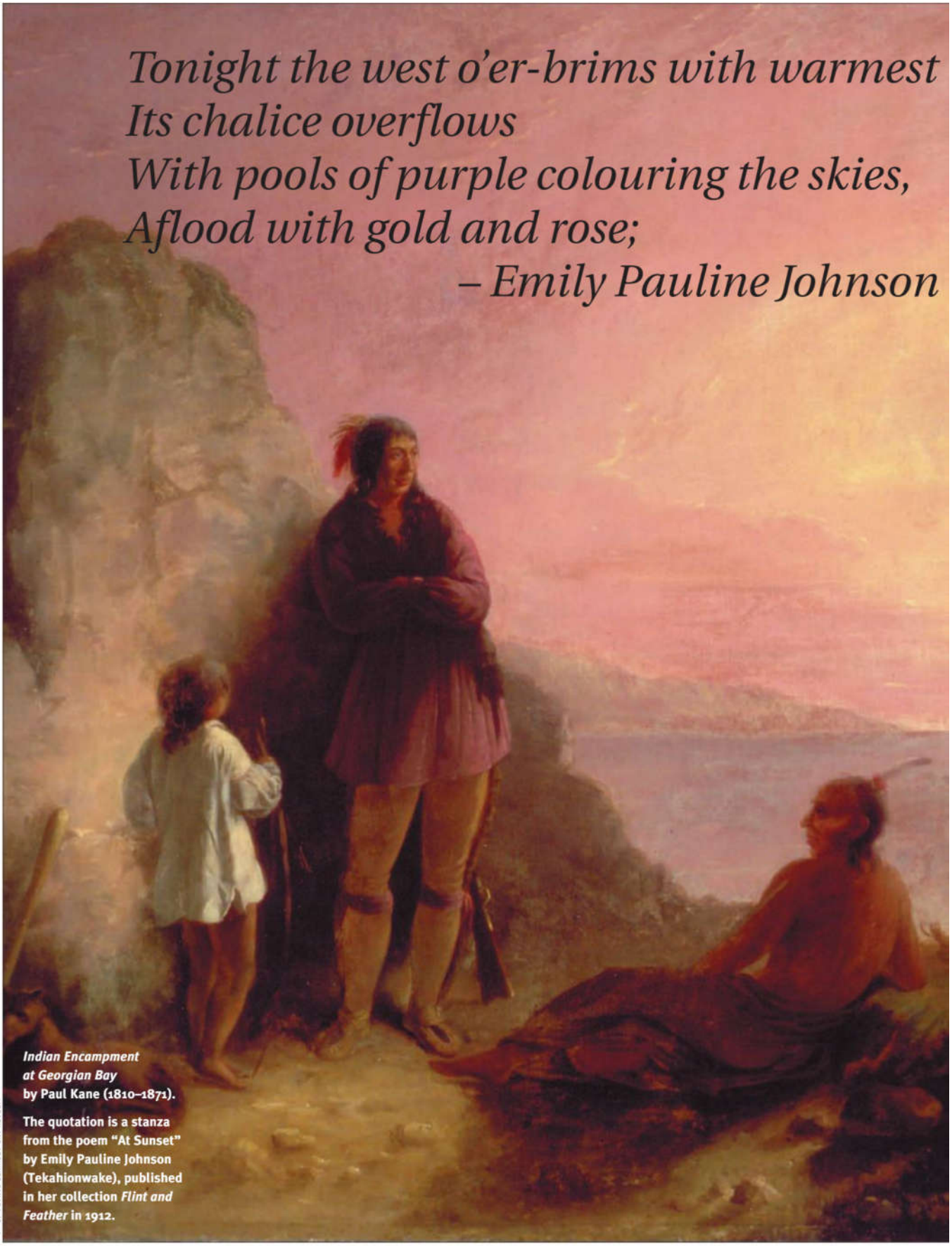
The story of Dr. Cream and his Ripper connection was brought to us by Calgary writer Jill Foran. She specializes in personal and company histories and memoirs and admits to an interest in the unsolved and nefarious, which, until her Ripper story, was last satisfied by overseeing a series on American gangsters for Altitude Press's "Amazing Stories" series. She owes her interest in Jack the Ripper to her little brother, who, when he was eight years old, was obsessed with the Whitechapel murderer, read every book he could find on the subject (almost exclusively adult), and staged Jack the Ripper plays. That brother is now completing his doctorate in history. (Whew!)

Will the mystery of Jack the Ripper ever be solved? In the short run, I hope not. Part of the pleasure of reading about this protean character is engaging in your own critical thinking and arriving at your own conclusions. If the mystery were solved during the run of this issue, the question we pose on the cover would be joylessly answerable and might as easily be no as yes. However, it seems unlikely that anyone will be able to untangle the currently available evidence and prove the Ripper's identity beyond all reasonable doubt. It's nevertheless weirdly gratifying (or is it just me?) that one of the suspects is Canadian.

We're not all good.

Doug Whiteway
Editor
editors@historysociety.ca

COVER PHOTOGRAPHY: THE MCGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES


Tonight the west o'er-brims with warmest
Its chalice overflows
With pools of purple colouring the skies,
Aflood with gold and rose;
– Emily Pauline Johnson

Indian Encampment at Georgian Bay **by Paul Kane (1810–1871).**

The quotation is a stanza from the poem "At Sunset" by Emily Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake), published in her collection *Flint and Feather* in 1912.

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Letters

Digging "Digging History"

Thank you, Ann Chandler, for the special feature on "Digging History" [June/July 2006]. As an archaeologist, I feel gratified to see the coverage you supplied. I am, of course, especially pleased by your inclusion of our Nomads project "Nomads of the Grasslands" [page 29]. You've done a good job of portraying what we are trying to do. I've also learned a good deal about the latest work of my colleagues across the country. I really enjoyed this survey and hope that other readers do, too.

IAN DYCK
CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION
GATINEAU, QUEBEC

Is there a screenwriter in the house?

"The Unrelenting Wait" [June/July 2006] is a classic tale that ought to be more widely told. Where are the scriptwriters and the movie producers? This story has everything: a struggle against injustice and unfairness, the loss of hope, the backlash of the powerful against those who would challenge their position, and ultimately, escaping doom. And through it all, the old-fashioned romantic aspect of a woman's undying dedication to a man – only to end the story with sadness and tragedy when she dies less than a year after finally being reunited with her husband.

This could be a mini-series or an epic movie. If this were the U.S., the likes of Disney would already have made the story of Maria Wait known to every school child, and the tale would be firmly ensconced in popular folklore.

What a story!

CHARLES B. DAVISON
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

A grave unmarked

Regarding the story "The Unrelenting Wait," I was unaware that any Canadians had ever been sentenced to transportation to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). While I am aware that the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada was badly organized and politically unfocussed, there is no doubt that it sprung out of a genuine sense of grievance. One Canadian, John Merrit, died at Port Arthur and was buried in an unmarked grave on the Isle of the Dead. Whatever Merrit's crimes were, I believe that it is wrong that his grave in far-off Tasmania remains unmarked.

ALAN KNIGHT,
HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Fallout

I really enjoyed your article "A Monstrous Plot" [June/July 2006]. I worked as secretary of Dorval Airport for CP Airlines and was privileged to read all the files on this murder. However, I didn't agree with the hanging of Mrs. Pitre, as I believe she was innocent. Who would have the courage to ride in a taxi to the airport knowing she was carrying a bomb?

LOIS BADGER
FULFORD, QUEBEC

During the winter of 1945–46, I worked as a surveyor for the Quebec North Shore Paper Company in Baie Comeau, Quebec. By the time I left in the spring, I had grown attached to that attractive little town, so it was with great interest that I followed the saga of the CP airplane bombing three years later.

The horror of that tragedy hit home in the late 1970s. I was working in Montreal when a young woman from Baie Comeau joined our staff. One day I brought to work one of my souvenirs of Baie Comeau for her to see. It was a copy of the QNSP Company monthly employees magazine, the *Observation Post*, from early 1946. I thought she would be interested in seeing what life was like there in "the olden days."

As she was riffling through the pages she suddenly burst into tears. It was an embarrassing few moments as other nearby employees looked at me as though I had just said or done something reprehensible. When she had composed herself a few minutes later, she showed me a picture of her uncle on one of the pages. She had never known him except through family photographs. He had been killed before she was born. He was a passenger on that ill-fated 10:20 a.m. flight no. 108 from Quebec City to Baie Comeau on September 9, 1949.

JOHN WARREN
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

Reviewing the review

In his review of my book *Lady Franklin's Revenge* [April/May 2006], David Woodman argues that the biography delivers only a "one-dimensional characterization" because the facts "are filtered through the author's barely concealed hostility to his subject."

In the *Literary Review of Canada*, reviewer Wendy McElroy wrote that the same work "exquisitely captures the complexity of Jane Franklin," despite my "constant sympathy and praise of this dubious woman" and my insistence on giving her "far more than the benefit of every doubt."

Reviewers contradict each other because they have axes to grind and turf to defend. But wouldn't it be fun to see Woodman and McElroy square off over *Lady Franklin's Revenge*? Maybe the referee could be reviewer Marc Horton, who wrote in the *Edmonton Journal* that Jane Franklin's life provides "an unforgettable story, and this is an unforgettable book."

KEN MCGOOGAN
TORONTO, ONTARIO

Fooled again

As a new reader of *The Beaver*, I am constantly enthralled by the "new" history I'm discovering.

Your article on "Kurt," the World War II German weather station found in Newfoundland ["The Automatic Spy," April/May 2006], was interesting until I saw the accompanying picture and realized that I walked right past it at the Canadian War Museum believing it to be standard issue Canadian military equip-

ment. Whether it was the enigmatic label or the "Canadian Meteor Service" lettering on the barrel, I guess the German spies fooled another unsuspecting Canuck!

MICHAEL FOCKLER
MIDHURST, ONTARIO

Atomically yours

Jamie Swift and Keith Stewart's piece on the 100th anniversary of Ontario Hydro [Explorations, April/May 2006] made good reading before lapsing into contemporary editorial. Several jabs are made at nuclear technology, whereas I'm sure that Sir Adam Beck would have been pleased to see this clean, cost-effective, almost limitless source of "public power" pioneered in Ontario as his legacy.

The claim that "cost overruns [of Ontario's reactors] dwarfed those of the Beck station at Niagara" is contradicted by the photo caption claiming that the Beck station cost "four times its original estimate." The poster child for nuclear cost overruns (Darlington, near Toronto) almost doubled its projected cost of $7.5 billion made at the start of construction and almost tripled an earlier estimate made at the time the government committed to the project – hardly a "dwarfing"!

The lesson is that major projects sometimes overspend, often (as with Darlington) due to political factors unrelated to the technology. Sir Adam Beck would agree that what really matters is efficient performance, as intended, for years afterward – the case with both the Niagara and Darlington stations.

The article concludes with a curious statement that "conservation has no physical limit." While this statement is demonstrably false for conservation (the limit is zero), it is effectively true for uranium, since it offers thousands of years of energy using advanced reactor technology.

Perhaps the biggest advantage citizens have today, not available in Beck's time, is diversity of options.

JEREMY WHITLOCK
PAST-PRESIDENT,
CANADIAN NUCLEAR SOCIETY
DEEP RIVER, ONTARIO

A great-grandson responds

I read the article on Sir Edmund Walker, "The Vanishing Patron" [April/May 2006] with great interest. My grandfather was Sir Edmund's oldest son, and my mother one of his twenty-two grandchildren.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of Sir Edmund was his love for Canada. Although he valued the Imperial connection, he was a true patriot. What he accomplished he did for the people of Canada. This sentiment drove him. His speeches, newspaper columns, the many obituaries by people who knew him, and the letters his family received after his death attest to that.

The only howler in the article is the caption under the photo on page 29. This picture was taken in the summer of 1914 on a salmon fishing trip to the Restigouche River. The log cabin in the picture is the fishing hut they stayed in. I live next door to Walker's summerhouse "Broadeaves," a magnificent two-story stone structure designed by Walker's good friend the architect Frank Darling, which was completed in 1912.

On September 3, 2005, a plaque erected by the Ontario Heritage Foundation honoured Sir Edmund.

CONRAD EDMUND HEIDENREICH
DE GRASSI POINT, ONTARIO

A survivor's tale

I was astonished when I looked at the front cover of the April/May edition of *The Beaver* to see "*Athenia* sinking: heroes and horrors."

My parents, my brother, and I were on board the *Athenia* that fateful September night. I was six years old and my brother David was five. My parents' names were Jesse C. Bigelow and my mother Catherine Bigelow.

We had been visiting relatives in Scotland and were supposed to return to Canada at a later date, but because of war rumours booked passage on the *Athenia*.

My mother was reading to her little children in their berths when the torpedo struck. Water, debris, and oil swirled all around. She could not swim well, but managed to grab one child and the other would slip away. Suddenly, in the noise and confusion, she saw a pinprick of light; my father had managed to find a lantern and was calling, "Kate, Kate." Somehow my mother managed to get me to the stairs that were blown away. My father had to dive into the oily water to rescue my brother David.

It is an electrifying story how we were rescued and voyaged back to Canada. [CBC reporter] Matthew Halton interviewed my father, and my grandparents heard his voice from their home in Delia, Alberta.

We were in a lifeboat for eleven hours and were rescued by HMS *Electra*.

We landed at Greenock in Scotland and returned to Canada three weeks later on the *Duchess of York*.

I am a very fortunate woman, thanks to the bravery of my parents and the sailors of the Royal Navy.

NOREEN (BIGELOW) MCKENZIE
DRUMHELLER, ALBERTA

***The Beaver* welcomes readers' comments.** E-mail us at editors@historysociety.ca or write to *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0T6 Canada. Please include your address and daytime phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

Currents

Our home & native...

Steam foghorn

Saint John, New Brunswick, can be blanketed by fog, even in the summer. These moist conditions served as the breeding ground for the invention of the steam-powered

HERITAGE SAINT JOHN

This 1865 watercolour by J.C. Myles depicts the world's first steam-operated foghorn, built on Patridge Island.

foghorn. Robert Foulis (1796–1866), an inventor, civil engineer, and artist, created the foghorn and its coding system.

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, Foulis moved to New Brunswick in 1818. This man of vision has been credited as the saver of seafarers during the nineteenth century, at least until the invention of radar. The first steam foghorn was perched on Partridge Island in 1859. Initially, another man took credit for the invention, and though Foulis's foghorn saved thousands of lives, Foulis's name was not even recorded on his own gravestone.

The fog lifted in 1925 when the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recognized the historical significance of Robert Foulis's nautical alarm. In 1998, the horn, considered obsolete, was silenced for what was likely the first time in 139 years. Today, a plaque marks the spot where the first foghorn system was built on Partridge Island.

Caught on Film

Among the artifacts in the Southwest Saskatchewan Oldtimers' Museum in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, was an antique camera with a secret. The 1928 Kodak Hawkeye, an accordion-shaped camera donated to the museum some time ago and never opened, would have retained this secret had it not been for the inquisitive museum president, who tinkered with it and found film inside. On a whim, it was developed. Surprisingly, the decades-old film revealed a photograph of a man standing on a ladder, frowning at the camera.

The high-quality image is believed by the developer to have been preserved by a controlled environment and "by luck." Jeff McGillis, lab manager at Colorfast in Edmonton, says it's "not unheard of" to see film that has spent several decades in a camera yield photos, but "it's pretty rare."

The photograph presented the museum with a mystery. Who was the man on the ladder? Museum board member Royce Pettyjohn sought an answer, but held out little hope. After all, the 80-year-old museum only started cataloguing artifact donors in 1985. But as it turned out, the executor of the estate of June Blaxall had donated the camera in 1991.

Axel Olson appearing nonplussed as the camera snaps. Little does he know what a lasting impression he will make.

Pettyjohn tracked down the executor, who was living in Calgary. He identified the man in the photo as Blaxall's late father, Axel Olson. Back in Saskatchewan, Pettyjohn unearthed a single reference to Olson in the local archives.

A spare biographical portrait of Olson emerged. In the early 1920s, a nineteen-year-old Olson emigrated from Sweden to Canada, eventually settling in Piapot, a village near Maple Creek. He returned to Sweden after a few years where he met his wife, Olga, who returned with him to Piapot, where they would spend the bulk of their lives. Olson worked as a shoe- and harness-maker, turning to handiwork later in life.

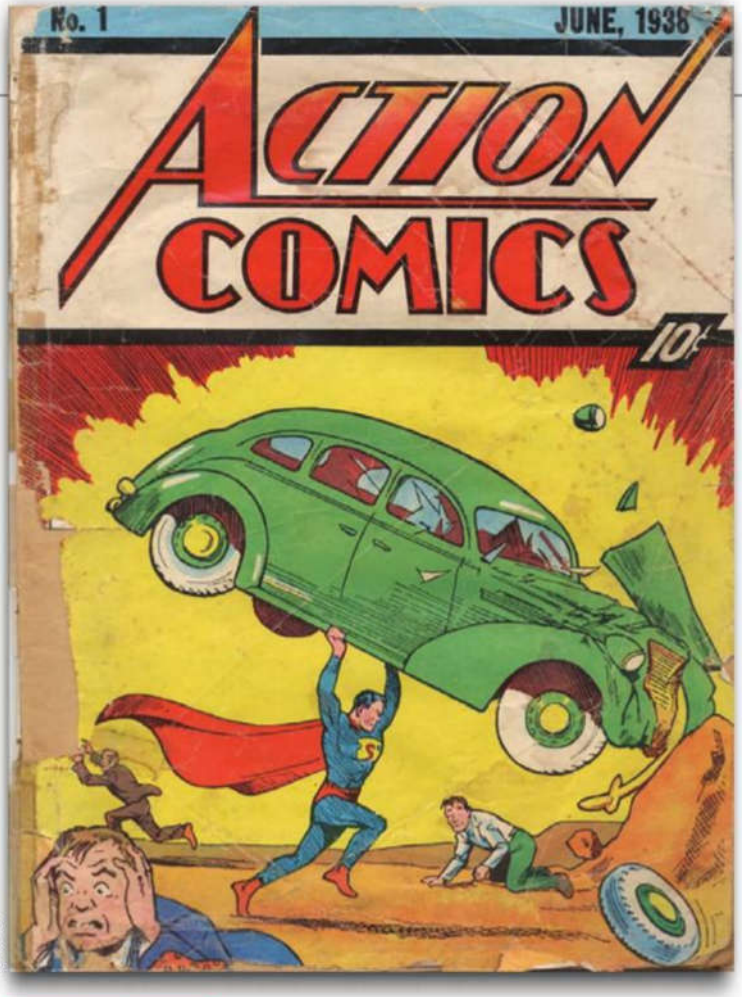
Since the photograph appears to show Olson painting, it likely captured him later in life. Pettyjohn figures that moment fell around the 1940s, but can't say conclusively, since the leads have run out and Olson leaves no living descendants. Where exactly the photo was taken also remains a mystery.

–Matt Barron

TAKE THE DAY OFF

August 6

To mark Radisson and Groseilliers' first journey west of Montreal in 1654 in search of furs. Recall the old jingle: "It's hard not to think of The Bay."



DC COMICS

Paper Trail

One Super Canuck

With a cape as red as the Maple Leaf, Superman returned to the big screen this summer. Created in 1933 by two seventeen-year-olds – American writer Jerry Siegel and Toronto-born artist Joe Schuster – Superman debuted in *Action Comics #1* in 1938 with a Metropolis skyline suspiciously similar to Toronto.

Schuster, a cousin of comedian Frank Schuster of Wayne and Schuster, moved with his family from Toronto to Cleveland in 1923. For decades, some Canadians claimed Superman as one of our own. In 1992, when a widely seen *Historica Minute* depicted Schuster as part of Canadian heritage, the battle for Superman soared to new heights.

Fans may disagree on the Superman's nationality, but Canada Post took its stand on October 2, 1995, with a set of forty-five-cent stamps commemorating five Canadian crusaders: Johnny Canuck, Captain Canuck, Fleur de Lys, Nelvana, and the man of steel himself, rendered in a style akin to the early comic book covers.

ON THE Web

www.collectionscanada.ca/sos/shipwrecks

"Shipwreck Investigations" plots a course through unique shipwreck resources. Providing direct access to marine casualty investigation records, it preserves crew and passenger survivor testimonies, spanning Canada's maritime disasters from inland waters to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

www.canadianmysteries.ca

"Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History" revisits a number of unsolved historical crimes. The most recent addition is "Torture and Truth," the tragic story of Marie-Joseph Angélique. Governor General Michaëlle Jean recently launched the site, paying tribute to the black woman who may have been unfairly sentenced.

www.collectionscanada.ca/ireland

Click onto "The Shamrock and the Maple Leaf," an online offering of Irish-Canadian documentary heritage. Discover photographs, letters, and music that reveal Ireland's influence on Canadian history and culture. Delve into the compelling experience of the Irish in Canada through the words of leading Irish-Canadian scholars.

August 11

To note the arrest 75 years ago of Communist Party of Canada leader Tim Buck for being a member of an "unlawful association." Check under your bed.

August 14

To observe the repeal in 1848 of a clause in the Act of Union making Canada's official language English. Say bi bi.

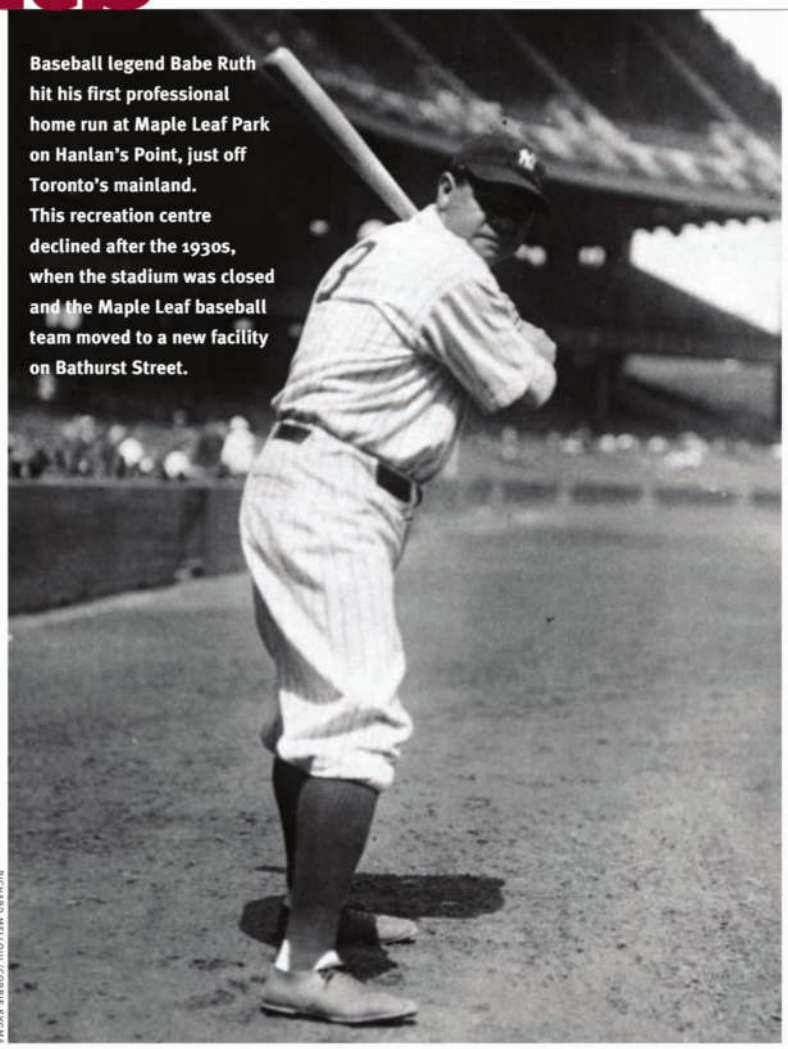
Currents

Stamp-ede auction

A New Brunswick postmaster mocked the mailman's oath when his scandalous actions interrupted the flow of letters for a short period of time. In 1860, Charles Connell caused an uproar when he deigned to put his own face on a five-cent stamp that should have borne Queen Victoria's visage. He was quickly forced to resign from his position, but the negative publicity made the stamp an object of interest, coveted among philatelists. Though the stamps were recalled and Connell claimed to have burned them in his Woodstock backyard, a few have resurfaced over the years. Recently, a piece of this history was auctioned off in New York. The original stamp proofs fetched U.S. $32,000, which would cover the postage to send more than 70,000 letters within Canada.

AUTUMN 1959 in The Beaver

Writes Vena Angier: "In its manual for post managers, The Governor and Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay state unequivocally, 'The world's greatest cooks are men.' I first suspected that this statement was included only for morale, particularly as a few sentences later the potential world's finest chef is cautioned not to use his dishcloth to wipe off the stove. Yet many of the best cooks in the North, certainly, are men. Some visiting sportsmen never do recover from the spectacle of hairy-armed sourdoughs lounging around a fur press swapping recipes."



Baseball legend Babe Ruth hit his first professional home run at Maple Leaf Park on Hanlan's Point, just off Toronto's mainland. This recreation centre declined after the 1930s, when the stadium was closed and the Maple Leaf baseball team moved to a new facility on Bathurst Street.

RICHARD MELLOUL/CORBIS SYGMA

Moment

September 5, 1914: Babe Ruth's first pro home run

The Great War has just erupted in Europe, and along the Toronto waterfront, signs of war are everywhere. An abandoned railroad car sits in the middle of the street. Painted on its side is the face of a soldier, his finger pointing at passersby as he beckons, "Last Chance! Victory Loan. Lists Close December 1." Meanwhile, real soldiers are guarding the railway line and ferry docks. The

TAKE THE
DAY OFF
September 7
To mark the 1859 visit of Edward, Prince of Wales, to Toronto where the maple leaf was first used as an official Canadian emblem. Replace your fig.

ferry is the only way to reach the islands off the city's mainland. The ferry service is owned by L.J. "Sol" Lolman, the same businessman who owns the Toronto Maple Leafs' AAA baseball team (one rung below the major leagues). So, it's no coincidence that the games are held on the islands, at Maple Leaf Park on Hanlan's Point. That afternoon a nineteen-year-old rookie pitcher with the visiting Providence Grays hits his very first home run as a pro.

His name is Babe Ruth.

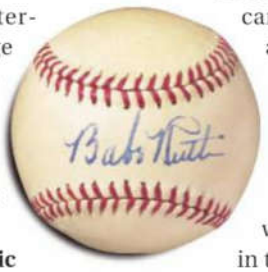
The tall, lanky teenager is a powerhouse hurler. Before the season is out he'll be a regular with the Boston Red Sox in the American League. His monstrous clout, a three-run shot that is believed to have wound up in Lake Ontario, is his one and only minor-league home run. It's also one of many links the greatest player in baseball history forges with Canada.

The game ended up 9–0 for the Grays, with Ruth tossing a one-hitter. Over the next four seasons he would win eighty games for the Red Sox on his way to becoming the best southpaw in the American League. But he could also hit. In 1920 Ruth was traded to the New York Yankees and over the next fifteen seasons led the league in home runs an unprecedented twelve times, retiring in 1935 with 714 round-trippers, not to mention ten World Series appearances and seven championships – four with the Yankees and three with the Red Sox.

He was an enigma. The first sports superstar. The man who invented the autograph. A hard-drinking, cigar-chomping ball player who liked women and late nights, and who drove his managers crazy. But how the fans loved him.

As for Babe Ruth's Canadian connections, there are many. His first wife, Helen Woodford, hailed from Nova Scotia, and he spent many off-seasons during his Yankee days hunting in the Maritimes. Ruth's replacement in the Yankee outfield in 1935 was Twinkletoes Selkirk, who hailed from Huntsville, Ontario. And yet another Canadian was Brother Matthias, the prefect at St. Mary's Industrial School in Baltimore where the young Ruth first learned to play baseball. He was from Cape Breton Island. In fact, it was Brother Matthias who taught Ruth the rudiments of the game.

This September, a permanent display and interpretive site is scheduled to be unveiled by Heritage Toronto to commemorate Babe Ruth's first pro home run in 1914. The new display will replace a smaller plaque that had been erected in 1985, which was hard to find. That wasn't right and is no longer the case. After all, we are talking about Babe Ruth.



–Jerry Amernic

Trestle in Trouble? Impassable!

Apart of British Columbia's rail history may be forever lost if it is torn down as planned. The Kinsol Trestle, spanning the Koksilah River in the Cowichan Valley on Vancouver Island, is one of the largest and highest wooden trestle bridges in the world. It was built in 1921 as part of the CNR service to the now-defunct King Solomon Copper Mines. In full view from a stretch of the Trans Canada Trail, hikers are warned to stay off the jumbled pile of rotting wood, though one

DEBRA BRASH/TIMES COLONIST

look at the dilapidated state of the trestle would deter even the most gutsy. Now, the only way to cross the Koksilah River is to buck up and jump in.

In a vexing move, the provincial government has offered to shoulder $1.5 million for the dismantling – but not the reconstruction – of the rail crossing. A consultants' report stated that its structure was beyond salvaging. Concerned locals fear losing a historically significant tourist attraction. "I'm very adamant about saving that trestle," says Marlene Spaeth, an area resident who has started petitioning for its restoration. The Cowichan Valley Regional District is hoping to find funding for a $2.7 million restoration project that would rebuild the wooden structure, uniting the trail systems in the area.

September 15

To celebrate Canada's win 30 years ago of the first Canada Cup, by defeating Czechoslovakia 5–4, with Daryl Sittler scoring the winning goal. Root.

September 27

To note the taking command 200 years ago by Isaac Brock of British forces in Upper Canada. Whistle the 1812 Overture.

Currents

Travelling Totem

After standing for seventy-seven years at Stockholm's Museum of Ethnography, the G'psgolox totem pole has been shipped back to the Haisla community on the northern coast of British Columbia. The G'psgolox is the first totem pole to be repatriated from abroad.

In 1929, the totem pole was cut down from its original site by a native agent and sold to the Swedish museum under questionable circumstances. Positive negotiations led to its return. The Haisla totem pole began its journey back to Canada on March 23, travelling by road to the Swedish port of Gothenburg, where it was wheeled on board the cargo vessel *Maersk Wind* for a four-week sea voyage to the port of Tacoma, Washington. From there it was loaded onto a truck bound for Vancouver (where it was displayed temporarily), before returning on July 1 to the Haisla.

Changing Places

Winnipeg Beach

LEWIS FOOTE

Bathers soaking up the sun at Winnipeg Beach, summer 1912.

If you've overheard teenagers chatting about the latest 90210-inspired television drama, *Falcon Beach*, let it be you, not they, who has the latest scoop on the program. Did you know that the fictional resort town of Falcon Beach is filmed on location at Winnipeg Beach, less than an hour's drive from Winnipeg? Winnipeg Beach has long been a popular holiday destination in southern Manitoba. Located on the western shoreline of Lake Winnipeg, some 76 kilometres from the city, the lake was first used for transportation and fishing. In the early years, however, recreational use of the lake was almost impossible. The shoreline was surrounded by swampy, rugged land.

In 1900, Canadian Pacific Railway officials decided to create a summer resort and amusement park at the lake to attract Winnipeg's burgeoning population. Surveying the southern shoreline by boat, they selected a beautiful, sandy location that they called Winnipeg Beach. Land was purchased from a local homesteader and a rail line to Winnipeg was begun. A railway station, dance pavilion, midway, hotels, livery, pier, and other amenities soon followed. In 1903 the resort was opened, and almost overnight Winnipeg Beach became a major attraction.

By 1910 more than 40,000 passengers were travelling to the lake by rail on holiday weekends. Besides the beach and midway, a major attraction was the *Moonlight Express*. This train carried passengers from Winnipeg to the lake every summer night except Sunday. Couples could spend a romantic evening dancing to big band music, then return home late in the evening. In 1916 the Canadian

ORIGINAL PICTURES

Film set of *Falcon Beach* at Winnipeg Beach, summer 2005. Season two began filming in July 2006.

Northern Railway, anxious to compete, opened a line through to Victoria Beach on the east side of Lake Winnipeg and built its own resort and dance pavilion at Grand Beach.

Unlike the Lake of the Woods area, which was accessible by automobile much earlier and developed as an enclave of the elite, Lake Winnipeg appealed to a broad public. Many working-class families could afford the modest train fare. While the original fare is not known, by the 1950s it only cost 50 cents for a return trip, including dancing. Visitors could travel out in the morning carrying a picnic lunch, spend the day swimming and playing on the beach or wandering the midway, then return home that evening having spent little of their precious earnings. Companies brought even more working people to the lake, organizing staff outings with swimming, races, and picnics.

By the late 1950s, however, the heyday of Winnipeg Beach was over. Road building and the greater accessibility of automobiles brought a gradual end to train travel to the beach. New areas opened up and people began to explore other attractions. In the 1960s, the midway closed. Today, a Manitoba Heritage Site marker at the CPR water tower commemorates the early history of Winnipeg Beach. A display in the Parklands/Mixed Woods Gallery at the Manitoba Museum reminds visitors that, for decades, thousands travelled daily by train to enjoy a visit to Winnipeg Beach.

If you plan a trip to Winnipeg Beach this summer, expect to see a large production crew filming the next season's episodes of *Falcon Beach*, bringing Hollywood-style adolescent angst to Canadian soil … that is, sand.

–Sharon Reilly

Calendar Aug./Sept. 06

Puffin forehead mask (1800–1850)

MCCORD MUSEUM M18897.10

QUEBEC

Haida Art: Mapping an Ancient Language

A selection of remarkable objects from the McCord's collection of historic Haida art, including carved feast bowls and painted masks, rattles, and bentwood boxes. The exhibition was created with the assistance of Haida artist Robert Davidson.

Until October 22, 2006
McCord Museum, Montreal
(514) 398-7100
www.mccord-museum.qc.ca

ALBERTA

Outfitters and Guides in the Mountains of Jasper

Step back to a time when living on the trail was a way of life for a chosen few and Jasper was one of the last frontiers of the untamed rocky wilderness. Learn about the Harragan sisters, who became official guides in the 1920s for Jasper National Park.

July 1 to August 27, 2006
Jasper-Yellowhead Museum and Archives, Jasper
(780) 852-3013
www.jasper-alberta.com

NOVA SCOTIA

One-Way Passage

Learn about the influx of war brides who immigrated to Canada in the mid-1940s. These daring woman, many with infants, docked at the Pier 21 customs sheds and were shuttled directly onto "bride trains." They were deposited onto urban platforms and rural sidings from coast to coast.

Ongoing in summer, 2006
Pier 21, Halifax
(902) 425-7770
www.pier21.ca

Explorations

John Herd Thompson on

Who will sell prairie grain?

As agribusiness swallows the family farm, the Wheat Board faces an uncertain future.

By the time *Beaver* readers receive this issue, the Canadian Wheat Board may no longer exist in any recognizable form. The board's most vociferous opponent, the Western Canadian Wheat Growers Association, clamours for its privatization. The association has good reason to anticipate that the new Conservative government will do this. Before he became prime minister, Stephen Harper denounced the CWB as a "draconian wheat monopoly" that "relied on force and fear to exist."

Harper based his statement on Don Baron's 1998 bestseller *Canada's Great Grain Robbery*, an account of the development of prairie grain marketing. According to Baron, the prairie wheat pools of the 1920s came about because radicals, inspired by "a false social gospel" and "the Bolshevik Revolution," deceived farm families into participating in the "Pool Deception." Then "the Wheat Pools and socialist political parties with their unthinking hatred of free markets" created the Canadian Wheat Board, a "grain monopoly … that held growers in its grip perhaps even more tightly than the railway/grain companies' monopoly" that the prairie agrarian movement had originally organized to resist. In the 1970s, however, the true prairie farmer at last re-emerged, so that "the growers' demands for freedom can no longer be denied."

The seriousness with which otherwise sensible people take Baron's absurd polemic provides striking evidence that the Canadian Wheat Board is the least known and least understood of Canada's distinctive national institutions.

The CWB officially celebrated July 5, 2005, as its seventieth birthday, the anniversary of the Canadian Wheat Board Act sponsored in 1935 by Albertan R.B. Bennett's Conservative government. The board could also have chosen July 31, 1919, the date Arthur Meighen's Conservative government established the first Canadian Wheat Board. The board was a uniquely Canadian response to a turbulent international wheat market, a response very different from that of the United States Grain Corporation, through which the U.S. government provided American wheat farmers a subsidized minimum price of $2.26 a bushel. The CWB instead bought every Canadian prairie farmer's wheat for an initial payment of $2.15 a bushel, sold it for the best price, and then distributed additional earnings to producers. In total, Canadian producers earned $2.62 for each bushel of their wheat, more than their U.S. neighbours received. This "innovative system," writes historian C.F. Wilson, eventually became "basic to Canadian wheat marketing policy."

The board's success delighted medium-scale and small-scale prairie farm families, who praised the "orderly marketing" that the board made possible; every farmer received the same price no matter when the grain reached the elevator. In the open market system, most farmers sold their wheat as soon as they threshed it; the price dropped in response to this sudden increase in supply. "Orderly marketing" remains the most frequent farmer validation of a government-sponsored monopoly wheat board.

Under pressure from the private grain trade, the Conservatives abandoned the board after a year, and their successors, the Mackenzie King Liberals, refused to revive it. Farm organizations did more than protest. Tens of thousands of prairie producers built farmer-owned wheat pools in each prairie province. These pools duplicated the operation of the Wheat Board: farmers promised by contract to deliver all the wheat they harvested to the pools, and the pools sold it though a central selling agency headquartered in Winnipeg, thus eliminating grain-trade "middlemen." By 1925, more than 140,000 of the 240,000 prairie farmers belonged to the wheat pools. But a majority of farmers – 72 percent in a plebiscite in Saskatchewan – wanted the pools or a wheat board to have total control of the Canadian wheat crop. They demanded a "100 percent compulsory Pool" that would put the "speculators" on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange out of business.

The near collapse of grain markets during the Depression forced R.B. Bennett's Conservative government to propose a permanent national marketing monopoly of all grains. Prairie farm organizations were delighted, but the private grain trade and its political allies in the Liberal and Conservative caucuses successfully blocked the compulsory grain board. The board created in 1935 applied only to wheat and coexisted with the private grain trade; a farmer's decision whether to market though the CWB was voluntary. Mackenzie King's Liberal government, elected in October 1935, attempted to abolish even this voluntary board. The political price, however, turned out to be higher than they were prepared to pay. Protests poured in from Western Canada. Eliminating the board, King wrote in his diary, "will be a sort of suicide." In this significant sense, prairie farmers' demands created the CWB, not politicians.

World War II demonstrated to political leaders the Wheat Board's indispensability. The CWB sold wheat directly to the British government and, with the support of organized producers, implemented the first delivery quotas for grain, a system that worked better for Canada than the American method of acreage control. In September 1943, again with support of organized farmers, the federal government gave the CWB a monopoly to assure adequate supplies of wheat to meet commitments to Canada's allies. Thereafter, writes Mitchell

Sharp, later the minister responsible for the board, "the Canadian Wheat Board became, as the prairie pool organizations had always advocated, the sole marketing agency for western wheat."

The King government intended to end the CWB monopoly in 1945, but the board's popularity among prairie farmers made that impossible. In 1949, at the urging of prairie farm organizations, the CWB also became the sole marketing agency for oats and barley. In 1951, the Manitoba government held a producer plebiscite to gauge support for CWB monopoly handling of coarse grains. Despite a massive public relations campaign financed by the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, nine of ten Manitoba farmers voted for the board. For prairie farmers, argues political scientist David E. Smith, the CWB came to have a status "equivalent to a farmers' Magna Charta."

By the 1950s, both Liberal and Conservative governments accepted the Wheat Board as an essential element of Canadian agricultural policy. In the postwar international community, government-to-government grain sales became the international norm. Trade and Commerce Minister C.D. Howe, once an acerbic opponent of a monopoly CWB, became a forthright advocate. As Howe put it, the board ensured "dependable trading," and was "an insurance policy … against instability."

Parliament had to renew the CWB monopoly periodically. In debates in 1950, 1953, 1957, and 1962, not a single MP voted against an extension. Instead, MPs of all parties – Liberal, Conservative, CCF, and Social Credit – vied to outdo each other to proclaim their enthusiasm for the board. In May 1967, L.B. Pearson's Liberal government moved to make the board's monopoly permanent. Before the Commons voted unanimously in favour, Conservative Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker had the last word: The Canadian Wheat Board "will not be changed so long as there are farmers and wheat producers who are aware of the benefits."

Yet significant opposition to the CWB appeared less than three years later in the form of the Palliser Wheat Growers Association, later renamed the Western Canadian Wheat Growers Association. A world wheat glut, depressed prices, and a clogged grain handling system spurred the protest.

The emergence of vocal opposition to the Canadian Wheat Board, however, says more about the transformation of prairie rural life than it does about the CWB. Three hundred thousand farms dotted the prairie landscape when the board appeared in 1935; barely a third of them remain. Each successive decennial census records the grim decline of the family farm, the base of CWB support, and the ascendancy of the mechanized farmer-businessman who believes that he can market his crop better than the board. The rural associational, which had been the cultural base of the agrarian movement that demanded a wheat board, decayed as huge "inland terminals" replaced local grain elevators and semi-trailers hauled the crop instead of branch-line railways. Rural service centres die after the grain-handling facilities go, and the local hotel, the newspaper, the school, clubs, teams, and churches follow.

Medium-sized prairie farms are not gone yet. Just as the Western Canadian Wheat Growers speak for farming as a business, the National Farmers' Union, founded in 1969, speaks for family farming as a way of life. The NFU defends the Wheat Board as fiercely as the WCWG attacks it, but economic and political circumstances conspire to favour agribusiness over the family farm. Contemporary Canadian grain growers must not delude themselves, however, about the past to justify new directions they might wish to take today. The Canadian Wheat Board was not imposed upon prairie farmers by foreign radicals or by distant federal bureaucrats. Instead, it was a uniquely Canadian policy solution that dealt with the persistent problems of prairie agriculture with remarkable success.

A Manitoban by birth, John Herd Thompson teaches North American history at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. His book *Forging the Prairie West* (1998) is part of *The Illustrated History of Canada* from Oxford University Press.

Editorial Writers: "the people who come down from the hills after the battle to shoot the wounded." - Murray Kempton, New York Post

In Our Opinion
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Whether railing against taxes and the horrors of war or pondering the future of lacrosse in 1895, editorials have been the voices and personalities of our newspapers, coast to coast.

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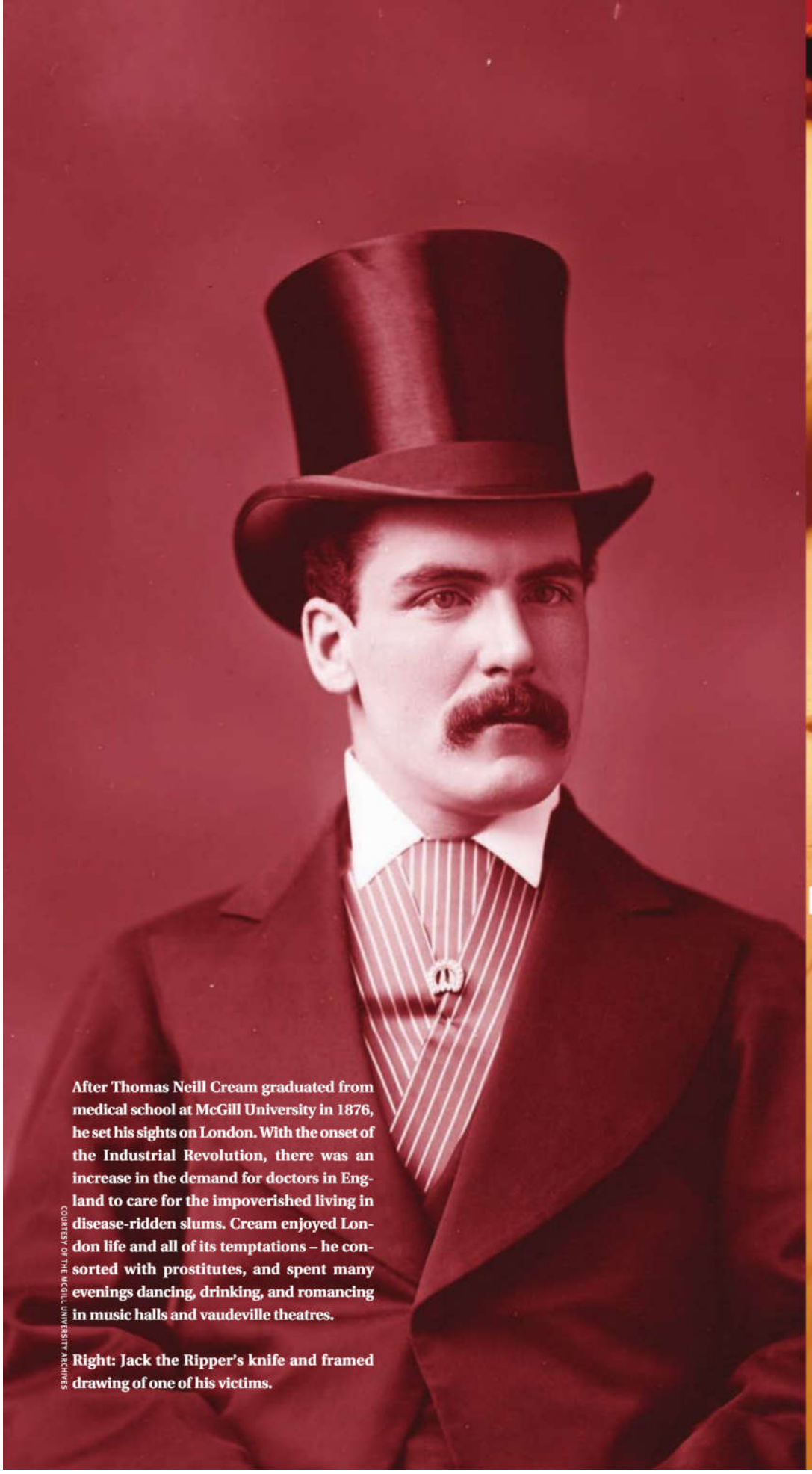
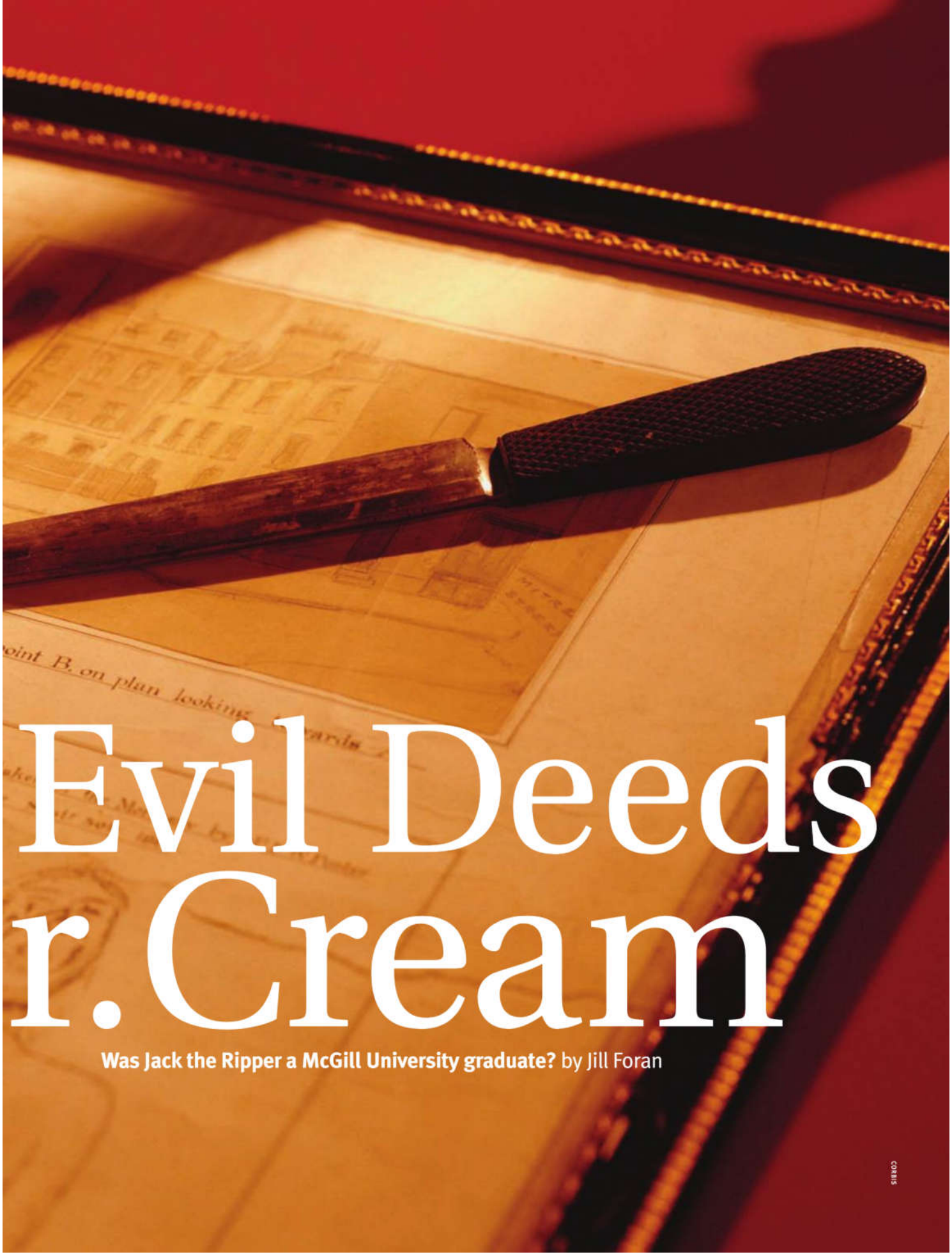


After Thomas Neill Cream graduated from medical school at McGill University in 1876, he set his sights on London. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, there was an increase in the demand for doctors in England to care for the impoverished living in disease-ridden slums. Cream enjoyed London life and all of its temptations – he consorted with prostitutes, and spent many evenings dancing, drinking, and romancing in music halls and vaudeville theatres.

COURTESY OF THE MCGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Right: Jack the Ripper's knife and framed drawing of one of his victims.



Evil Deeds r.Cream

Was Jack the Ripper a McGill University graduate? by Jill Foran

CORBIS

On the morning of November 15, 1892, thousands of anxious people gathered outside Newgate Prison in London, England, to await the imminent execution of a prisoner within. It was the largest crowd to gather at an execution site in London since public hangings had been brought to an end in 1868, and although the disorderly group wouldn't get to witness the death of the prisoner first-hand, they were nevertheless eager to cheer his demise from afar. As the *Toronto Globe* reported the next day: "Probably no criminal was ever executed in London who had a less pitying mob awaiting his execution." That criminal was a McGill-trained physician by the name of Thomas Neill Cream.

MCCORD MUSEUM

Montreal's McGill University has a long history, dating back to 1811 when James McGill, a prominent fur trader, bequeathed his country estate to create a university in his name. The medical faculty where Thomas Neill Cream studied from 1872 to 1876 had been described as "the most dynamic faculty at McGill."

Inside the prison walls on the morning of Cream's execution, the mood was far more subdued. Cream was quiet and composed when he was led to the scaffold to meet the fate he had etched for himself over a long career of crime. As various city and prison officials looked on, and hangman James Billington placed his hand on the lever that would send the doctor to his death, Cream allegedly started to speak. "I am Jack," he began, but was cut off forever as the trap doors opened and his neck snapped in the noose.

Was Dr. Cream about to claim that he was none other than Jack the Ripper? Could it be that he, the notorious Lambeth Poisoner, was also responsible for the series of horrifying slayings that had confounded the people of London – and the rest of the world – four years earlier?

In the latter half of 1888, London's largely impoverished East End served as a backdrop for the machinations of an unidentified madman who slaughtered at least five local prostitutes. Nicknamed Jack the Ripper, this mysterious murderer was later deemed the world's first serial killer, and while the Metropolitan Police never managed to identify or capture him, they had no end of leads to pursue. From a Jewish butcher and a Polish barber, to a famous artist and a future heir to the throne of England, the list of suspects was long – and it only grew longer as time passed. Today, Cream's name is still among those on this exhaustive list, and while he is not generally considered to be one of the more likely suspects, there is no doubt that he was capable of killing in cold blood.

Thomas Neill Cream was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on May 27, 1850. Four years after his birth, his family immigrated to Quebec, where Cream's father, William, became manager of a shipbuilding and lumber firm located in Wolfe's Cove, near Quebec City. Cream, the oldest of eight siblings, followed briefly in William's footsteps, apprenticing in the shipbuilding trade and helping out his father when the latter started his own successful wholesale lumber business.

But the lumber industry did not hold Cream's attention for long. In October 1872, at the age of twenty-two, he entered McGill University in Montreal, where he studied medicine for the next four years. During this time, Cream earned a reputation among his schoolmates and professors as a wild and extravagant young man. Well supplied with money from his now-wealthy father, he dressed in high-priced clothing, adorned himself with flashy jewellery, and travelled about in a stylish carriage.

Despite his wild streak, Cream graduated from McGill with merit, receiving his medical degree at a crowded ceremony on March 31, 1876. The address given to his graduating class was titled "The Evils of Malpractice in the Medical Profession." Cream, who had written his thesis on the effects of chloroform, would soon demonstrate just how devastating these evils could be.

Not long after his graduation, Cream met and seduced a young woman named Flora Eliza Brooks, daughter of a prosperous hotel owner in Waterloo, Quebec. When Flora became pregnant with Cream's child, Cream took it upon himself to perform an abortion. Flora fell ill as a result, and after learning what had transpired, her father tracked down Cream, dragged him back to Waterloo, and forced him – at gunpoint – to marry her.

Thomas Neill Cream registered at Montreal's McGill University as a medical student in the fall of 1872. He would graduate with honors on March 31, 1876. In his class graduation portrait, Cream is sitting among the cluster of men at the front, in the second row, wearing a striped tie.

COURTESY OF THE MCGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

In October 1872, at the age of twenty-two, he entered McGill University in Montreal, where he studied medicine for the next four years. During this time, Cream earned a reputation among his schoolmates and professors as a wild and extravagant young man.

The next day, Cream left his new bride and headed to England to continue his medical studies at St. Thomas's Hospital in London. He attended lectures there until 1878, working intermittently as an obstetrics clerk and spending his free time courting women. Meanwhile, back in Quebec, Flora contracted bronchitis and died of what appeared to be consumption. Her doctor, however, couldn't help but wonder if her death was actually linked to some "medicine" that Cream had purportedly sent to her. Though he never acted on his hunch, the doctor later admitted that he suspected Cream of foul play.

Cream returned to Canada in May 1878, after spending some time in Scotland and gaining the qualification of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh. He set up a medical practice in London, Ontario, where he also began a career as an illegal abortionist.

About a year after Cream arrived in the Ontario town, the body of a young woman named Kate Gardener was discovered in an outhouse located behind his office building. A bottle of chloroform was found next to the body, and the woman's death was quickly viewed as suspicious. When it came out at the inquest that

ALAN MCWEENEY/CORBIS

This alley in the Whitechapel District of London is where some of the murders by Jack the Ripper took place. One of the main holes in the Cream as Ripper theory concerns the whereabouts of Cream when the Whitechapel murders took place. Cream would have been serving a life sentence for murder in the Illinois State Penitentiary in Joliet during this period. Still, a Canadian Ripperologist, Donald Bell, had an explanation: prisoners sometimes paid substitutes to serve their jail sentence, and Cream would have been in the position to bribe his jailers, as he had access to bribe money.

Gardener had visited Cream's office on several occasions to procure an abortion, Cream insisted that he had refused to provide her with abortifacients and maintained that her death must have been a suicide.

The coroner's jury disagreed, ruling that Gardener had "died from chloroform, administered by some person unknown." Though Cream was not charged with her murder, suspicions against him were so strong that both his practice and his reputation were ruined. He promptly left Canada for the wild streets of Chicago.

In the Windy City, Cream set up a medical practice near the West Side's bustling prostitution district and was soon known to local police as a backstreet abortionist – and as someone to keep an eye on. After narrowly escaping imprisonment for the murder of a young patient who died as the result of a botched abortion, Cream continued to draw attention from the Chicago authorities. In December 1880, another of his patients, Ellen Stack, died after taking medicine prescribed by him. The next month, Cream attempted to blackmail the pharmacist who had made up Stack's prescription, sending the innocent man threatening letters. The pharmacist complained to the police, but no charges were brought forth.

Finally, in 1881, police were able to put Cream behind bars for something concrete: the murder of a sixty-one-year-old man named Daniel Stott. A resident of a Chicago suburb, Stott had been sending his thirty-three-year-old wife, Julia, into the city regularly to pick up pills that Cream had been marketing as a remedy for epilepsy. Cream soon began an affair with the young woman and, after coaxing her to convince her husband to take out life insurance, gave her pills full of strychnine to give to him. Stott died within minutes of taking the pills.

At first, Stott's death was attributed to an epileptic seizure. But Cream sent a letter to the coroner accusing the chemists who had made up Stott's prescription of being responsible for the man's demise. (Cream had intended to sue the chemists for damages on Julia's behalf.) When the coroner ignored Cream's letter, the doctor went to the district attorney, who eventually had Stott's body exhumed. Enough strychnine was found in Stott's stomach to kill anyone three times over, but it was Cream, not the chemists, who was charged with and found guilty of murder in the second degree. He was sent to the Illinois State Penitentiary in Joliet.

Although Cream was given a life sentence, he was released from prison in June 1891, after having his term reduced to seventeen years and then obtaining an early parole. Upon his release, he returned to Canada briefly, then made his way back to England, eventually settling into a room on Lambeth Palace Road in South London.

Soon after his arrival in London, Cream, by then horribly addicted to drugs, began another murderous streak, poisoning four Lambeth prostitutes in the span of seven months – a fifth intended victim had wisely decided against taking the strychnine-laced pills the good doctor offered her. She later testified against him in court.

Cream could have escaped suspicion for these murders had he stayed quiet and kept to himself. Instead, he wrote letters under false names in an attempt to cast suspicion on innocent people and extort money from potential suspects. He also bragged to others about his vast knowledge of the killings and

Four More Ripper Suspects

The Lodger

One of the most popular images of Jack the Ripper is that of a quiet gentleman of some wealth who rents a room from a retired couple at a higher-than-market rate. Though quiet, he displays idiosyncratic habits, reading the Bible aloud during the day and going on nocturnal wanderings. The wife becomes suspicious, noticing that her lodger's evening disappearances coincide with the murders.

M.J. Druitt

A prime suspect for many years, M.J. Druitt, a barrister, was pulled out of the Thames River in 1888. His possible suicide has been linked to guilt over the murders. But the handsome Druitt, who bore a striking resemblance to Prince Albert Victor (another suspect), had a penchant for young boys, and likely not Whitechapel women. There is little evidence to implicate him.

even went so far as to take his friend, a former New York detective named John Haynes, on a tour of the murder scenes.

Police were soon trailing Cream, and he was eventually arrested and charged with the murders of four women, the attempted murder of a fifth, and the sending of letters of extortion to two London physicians. His trial took place at the Old Bailey (London's Central Criminal Court) over five days in October 1892, and the jury needed only ten minutes to arrive at its verdict: Guilty. Justice Henry Hawkins, the presiding judge, sentenced Cream to hang, telling the prisoner that his cold-blooded deeds could "be expiated only by your death."

Shortly before Cream was sent to the gallows, he conceded to his jailors that his sentence was deserved and admitted to murdering many other women. Since then, the notion that Jack the Ripper's victims were among these other women has been met with both interest and disdain.

The main argument against the theory that Dr. Thomas Neill Cream was Jack the Ripper seems airtight: in 1888, the year the Ripper murders occurred, Cream was securely behind bars in Joliet, Illinois, serving time for the murder of Daniel Stott. And while this simple fact has prompted most Ripperologists to dismiss Cream as a suspect, it hasn't deterred all of them. In the summer 1974 issue of *The Criminologist*, late Montreal writer Donald Bell published an article titled "Jack the Ripper: The Final Solution?" in which he championed the possibility that Cream was the Ripper. Bell maintained in this article, and in another published in the *Toronto Star* in February 1979, that Cream could have been let out of prison long before 1891 (the year of his official release).

In the 1880s, the penitentiary at Joliet was rife with corruption among prison authorities. So, it might have been possible that Cream – whose father died in 1887 – was able to take advantage of these crooked conditions by using a portion of his large inheritance to effect an early escape and keep his jailors quiet about his absence.

According to Bell, if one is able to accept the idea that Cream could have managed a clandestine escape prior to his official prison release, then a strong case can be made that he was also Jack the Ripper. Cream did, after all, share a major personality trait with the mysterious East End murderer: both were serial killers of London prostitutes. And while Cream's known *modus operandi* was to poison his victims, Bell argued that he "was more naturally a doctor-butcher style killer than he was a poisoner."

Indeed, Cream's past as an illegal abortionist could be seen as evidence of his tendencies toward Ripper-like butchery. As well, due to the nature of the post-mortem wounds inflicted on the Ripper's victims, it is widely thought that Jack the Ripper must have had a medical background – like Cream.

When London authorities arrested Cream in 1892, it was impossible for them not to see the parallels between the poisoner and Jack the Ripper. Both killers appeared to possess a sense of moral superiority, killing prostitutes to rid society of what they considered a terrible menace. And both, it seemed, liked to write letters.

Soon after his arrival in London, Cream, by then horribly addicted to drugs, began another murderous streak, poisoning four Lambeth prostitutes in the span of seven months.

During Jack the Ripper's reign of terror, hundreds of letters were sent to the police and press, all claiming to have been written by the unidentified killer. Today, many Ripperologists believe that none of these letters were genuine. Other experts, however, maintain that the true killer was likely responsible for penning at least two, and possibly three, of them.

Nearly a century after these letters were written, a British graphologist by the name of Derek Davies compared samples of Cream's handwriting with the handwriting on one of the "genuine" Ripper letters, and with that on one of the hoax letters. He found striking similarities between all three scripts. In an article titled "Jack the Ripper: The Handwriting Analysis" (pub-

Severin Klosowski

Born in Poland in 1865, Severin Klosowski (a.k.a. George Chapman) came to England with a surgeon's skills. In time, he was found guilty of murdering at least three women to whom he had romantic ties. He worked as a barber in the Whitechapel district and is the only suspect who is known to have been capable of serial murder. A strong case.

Prince Albert Victor

Born in 1864 to Edward, Prince of Wales, and Princess Alexandra, "Eddy" is thought to have suffered from syphilis and gone insane. In 1970, Dr. Thomas Stowell wrote an article that caused a stir, theorizing the Royal Family knew the prince was the Ripper and covered up his guilt. Still, Prince Albert Victor was not in London when most of the murders occurred.

lished in the same issue of *The Criminologist* in which Donald Bell first advanced his Cream theory), Davies concluded that Cream wrote "the two letters ... by using as much disguise as possible on each occasion."

Much like the Ripper letters, the physical descriptions of Jack the Ripper are questionable at best. During the weeks in which the killer struck, several witnesses described men – or one man – seen with the Ripper's victims before their deaths. Not surprisingly, these descriptions varied considerably. But Bell argues that the most thorough of these portraits, provided by a labourer named George Hutchinson, matched Cream's general appearance quite closely: the man had a dark complexion, a dark moustache twirled at the ends, and was sporting – among other respectable apparel – a memorable watch-chain and a horseshoe tiepin.

Lou Harvey, the prostitute who evaded Cream's attempts at poisoning her in October 1891, wrote in a letter to authorities that Cream had been wearing a fancy watch when she'd met him. And while Bell saw this as an interesting indicator, it was the horseshoe tiepin that proved to be "the turning point" in his research. Cream was photographed wearing such a pin while he was a student at McGill University. For Bell, this was the clue that convinced him that Dr. Thomas Neill Cream could really have been Jack the Ripper.

Whether Cream was Jack the Ripper or not, the mere inclusion of his name on the list of suspects has lifted the Canadian physician to a whole new level of notoriety. And that, some speculate, is exactly what Cream had intended when he uttered, "I am Jack," as he fell to his death. An egomaniac who consistently sought out the spotlight, it's possible his last words were nothing more than an attempt to take credit for the murders of a more famous killer.

It's more likely, however, that Cream never uttered the words at all. Though Cream's executioner, James Billington, is said to have sworn that he heard the doctor claim to be Jack, most Ripperologists view the story as suspicious. Their doubts are supported by the fact that other witnesses at Cream's hanging never mentioned this utterance.

Regardless of the evidence for and against Cream, suspicions that Jack the Ripper once roamed the halls of McGill University have long dogged the school's medical faculty and alumni. And until the Ripper's identity is proven without a doubt, these suspicions will continue to lurk in the shadows.

Jill Foran is a Calgary-based writer and editor.

History of Chloroform

While many physicians adopt their own practical "tricks of the trade" after they leave medical school, Dr. Thomas Neill Cream's use of chloroform fell devastatingly short of therapeutic. While at McGill University, Cream evidently recognized the colourless, sweet-smelling liquid as an effective general anaesthetic: his thesis was based on its properties and medical usefulness. It was not long before he put theory into practice.

Chloroform has been known to exist for about 175 years, according to medical history. American physician Samuel Guthrie discovered the chemical compound by accident July 1831, when he mixed disinfectant with whisky. Though independently, and just a few months later, chloroform was recognized by French chemist Eugene Soubeiran as well as Justus von Liebig in Germany. Marie-Jean-Pierre Flourens recorded chloroform's anesthetic properties in 1847. That same year, the chemical was used as general anesthesia during childbirth for the first time. The use of chloroform in surgery grew rapidly in Europe, and it began to replace ether as an anesthetic. But surgeons quickly returned to the use of ether when chloroform was discovered to be highly toxic.

In popular culture, especially books and films, a pervasive image is that of a chloroform-soaked handkerchief held over the victim's mouth, resulting in unconsciousness. In reality, more than just a few drops would be required to knock somebody out, or to result in death (*Beaver* readers, don't try this at home. Remember, this was how John Wayne Gacy and Jeffrey Dahmer drugged their victims). In the case of Dr. Cream, an empty bottle of the poison was found lying beside one of his victims. He would have been aware that a full dosage was necessary to achieve his malevolent aims.

Chloroform is found in today's environment and traces can be found in automobile exhaust and sewage-treatment products. It is a by-product of chlorinated drinking water. It is also used in the manufacturing of pesticides and dyes. Next time you find yourself with your head in the fridge gazing at leftovers from another era, recall that in this modern one, chloroform is mainly used in the production of Freon, a refrigerant.

Et Cetera

Jack the Ripper A to Z by Paul Begg, Martin Fido, and Keith Skinner. Headline Book Publishing, London, 1994.

Doctor Thomas Neill Cream (Mystery at McGill) by David Fennario. Talonbooks, Vancouver, 1993.

A Prescription For Murder: The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream. By Angus McLaren. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993.

The full account of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream can be accessed at ‹www.crimelibrary.com/serial_killers/history/cream/index_1.html›.

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HOCKEY

A PEOPLE'S HISTORY

Selling the Prairie Good Life

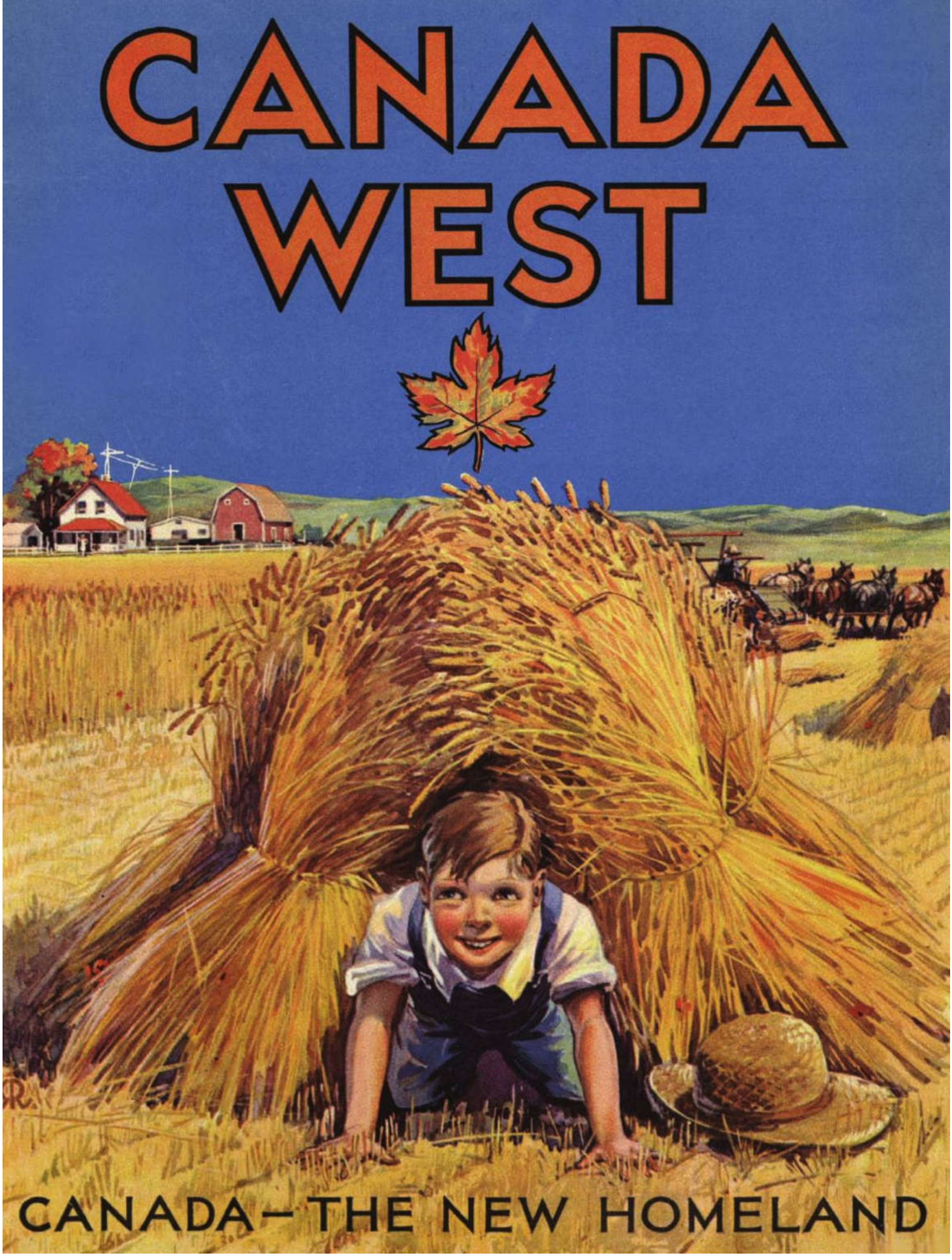
A century ago, *Canada West* magazine beat the drums for immigrants to fill the vast unbroken prairie. But those drums beat louder in some places than others.

by Graham Chandler

"Living is cheap; climate is good; education and land are free." So proclaimed *Canada West: The Last Best West* magazine in 1910. More promotional brochure for immigration than magazine, it was part of the Canadian government's drive to attract skilled farmers – British and American immigrants were primarily targeted – to settle and till the soils of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, and turn the land into a cornucopia to feed industrialized eastern Canada and Europe. Sir John A. Macdonald thought the best way to encourage eastern industrial growth was to establish reliable food production for its growing population on Canadian soil. The ideal agricultural society envisioned by government officials was mod-

The 1927 front cover of the magazine *Canada West* depicts a young boy playfully hiding beneath a bushel of hay. In reality, this boy might have been seeking refuge after a long day of farm chores.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES/NA3818-6


CANADA
WEST
CANADA—THE NEW HOMELAND

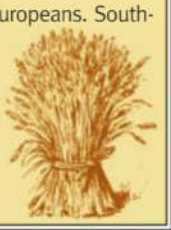
ern, highly developed, and based on family values; this agenda was articulated in their magazine, considered by immigration agents to be the most useful publication for promoting the West.

With artistic covers portraying an idyllic prairie life of blue skies, golden crops, happy families, friendly neighbours, sunshine, and independence, *Canada West* was packed with advice for the prospective pioneer. Unlike our modern world of empty advertising spin, and though *Canada West* had purely promotional ambitions, its success hinged on providing practical information. Hints abounded, from "For the Man Who Has Less than $300" (this man had better work for wages the first year) to "The Man Who Has $600" (get hold of your 160 homestead acres at once and build your shack) to "What $1,200 Will Buy" (this would provide fairly decent equipment and include one stubble plough at $20). For the land-hungry homesteader, it offered detailed colour maps of each of the four provinces, growing in later editions to four-page foldouts, which included the checkerboards of surveyed township borders showing where new farmland was available and its proximity to rivers, towns, roads, and railways.

Canada West contained everything the Canadian government thought the prospective farm owner needed to know. Issues repackaged the same message, often running the same kinds of articles every year: statistics on farm yields; information on railways, telephones, immigration, homesteading, schools, building materials, climate, cattle, and hog prices; river and lake access; land and customs regulations; different church denominations; freight rates; and much more. Issues always included a string of success stories and testimonials, such as one provided by an American newcomer who enthused, "I make five times per acre what I made in Iowa."

Who They Really Wanted

To populate the Prairies at the turn of the last century, Canada's Immigration Branch could not afford to be too selective, so it cast a wide net to attract skilled farmers from Europe. However, promotional campaigns proclaimed who Canadians really wanted. Government recruited immigrants from all over Europe, yet at the same time it tried to curtail the ethnic diversity in a quest for "desirable immigrants." Campaigns such as *Canada West* were mainly directed at the United States and Britain. Ethnic hierarchies existed, placing British and American immigrants at the top of the ladder, though there was also division over which of the two groups was most preferable. Some favoured the English, wanting to preserve British institutions and promote an imperial Canadian society, while others felt that Americans would have better farming skills, fearing that urban Englishmen were lazy. Still, British and Americans were consistently the most popular immigrants. Next, northern Europeans – Scandinavians and Germans – were considered acceptable, followed by eastern Europeans. Southern Europeans were not considered good agriculturalists, but the groups who fared worst were Jews, Asians, and African Americans, showing that culturally embracing attitudes had a long way to go.



In the late decades of the nineteenth century, Canada's population was heavily weighted in the five eastern provinces: Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. Eastern Canada boasted some large urban centres, but the future of the country depended on attracting farmers to settle the West. Not only did Ottawa want agriculture to flourish, it also wanted to populate the West to bolster a political stronghold. Concerned about the population imbalance, the government began a fervent campaign to promote western settlement. Though the approach had been haphazard in the past, Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal leadership in 1896 made great strides to boost immigration. They had a great product to sell: more than 100 million acres of fertile land lay unbroken and ready for habitation.

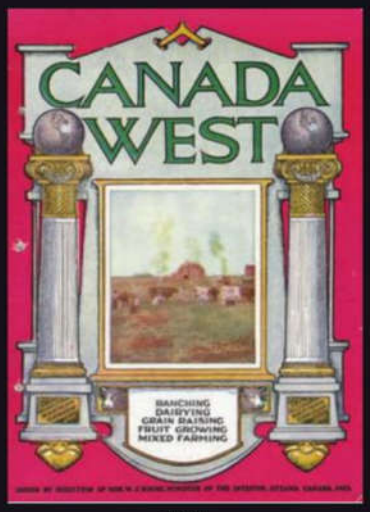
In 1899 the federal Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior published a document entitled *Western Canada*, which became the template for *Canada West*. Designed by Rand McNally under the Immigration Branch's direction, the publication mainly targeted settlers to relocate to the three Prairie provinces; most of the articles, covers, and photographs focused on farming the plains (each issue also offered a section on British Columbia that emphasized fruit and berry growing as well as mixed farming).

Private shipping and railway companies such as the White Star Line and Canadian Pacific had their own immigration campaigns, as there was money to be made transporting eager young men and women and their belongings to their new homes in the West. The CPR was also in the business of selling land. But *Canada West* was the government's own project, and was considered a more comprehensive publication, unlike the others, which were apt to promote only one region. British and American immigration agents favoured it in their efforts to persuade settlers to come.

And come they did. Between 1896 and 1914, more than two million settlers from Europe and the United States poured into the prairies in the greatest wave of immigration in Canadian history. By 1901, of the more than five million in Canada, almost 700,000 (12 percent) were immigrants (not born in Canada). About one-quarter of the immigrant population had arrived in the previous five years. Immigrants from the British Isles made up 57 percent; from America, 19 percent; Germany, 4 percent; and China, 2.5 percent. Smaller numbers came from Japan, Syria, Turkey, and the West Indies. However, in terms of "origin," 96 percent of the population was of

Covering the West

1909



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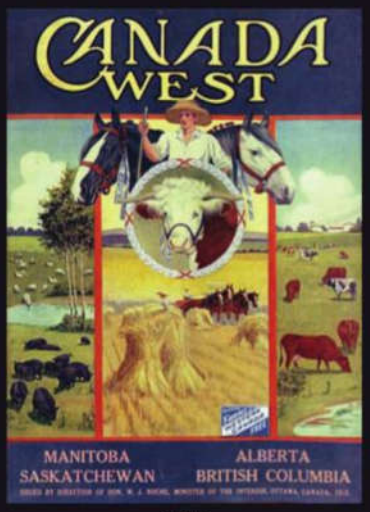

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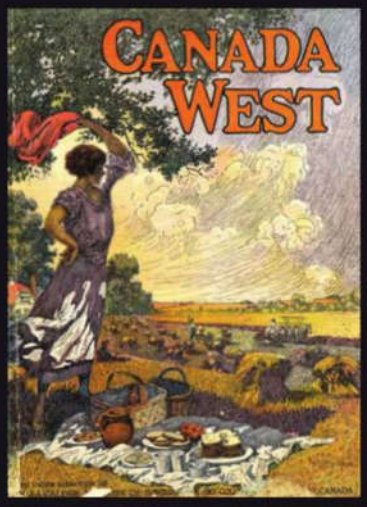

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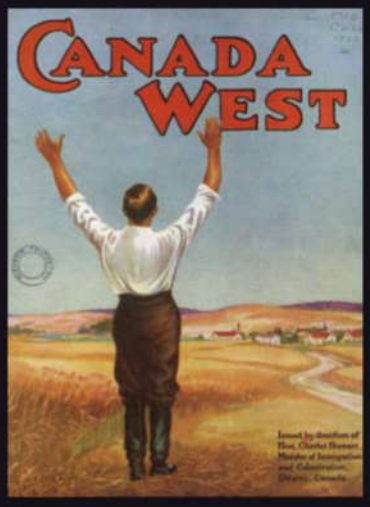

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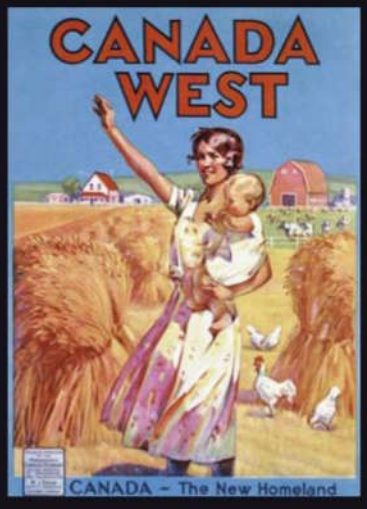

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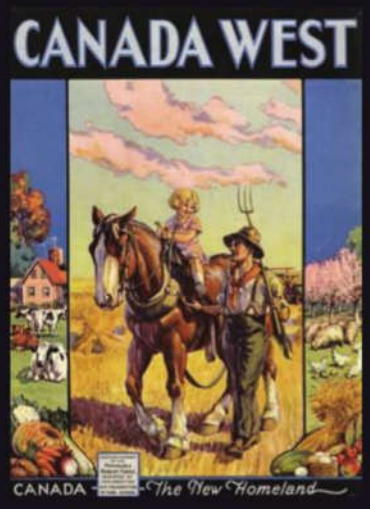
1925



1927

GLENBOW ARCHIVES/NB-45

This 1912 photograph of the Burns building also captured the headquarters of *Canada West* – it was housed in the squat building to the right. Both buildings were built along Stephen Avenue in downtown Calgary.

European descent. The year 1913 still holds Canada's record for immigrants – 400,870 arrived that year. But the outbreak of World War I in 1914 put an abrupt end to the rush.

Immigration halted during World War I, in large part because the demand for young men at the front reduced the stream of emigration from Europe. Conscription was another factor. Many Americans intending to homestead in Canada heard rumours that immigrant settlers would be subject to service at His Majesty's pleasure, and they stayed home to avoid a possible draft. This "stay-put" tendency prompted a bold, eye-catching headline front and centre on the first page of the 1915 issue: "Canada Practically a Self-Governing Country: Military Service is Voluntary – No Compulsion or Conscription." But the slump persisted, inducing an even stronger plea in the 1916 issue. A letter from the Honorable William James Roche, minister of the interior, which had been directed to American papers, was reprinted on the first page of *Canada West*. It blamed the pro-German press for publishing fictitious and defamatory news items to cause friction between the United States and Canada. Roche maintained, "I, therefore, beg to advise you that all troops from Canada for the war have gone voluntarily … even were conscription introduced it would apply to Canadian citizens only."

Later in the war, a U.S. draft law restricted American citizens from going to Canada. But after the Armistice, a renewed call was aimed at returning servicemen. "The end of the war has opened new perspectives of broadened opportunity to all Canada, but particularly to the Canadian West," the first page of the 1919 issue proclaimed. Pitched at soldiers who had returned home to find original jobs were gone or no longer attractive, the article went on to pronounce, "farm life will doubtless appeal to them … By following the pursuit of agriculture the returned soldier will continue the cause he so greatly advanced when fighting on the field of battle," referring to the war-shattered nations of Europe that now needed sustenance.

Western Postering

Canada West wasn't the only institution selling the prairie good life to foreigners. Companies such as the CPR and Cunard also also saw advantages in promoting immigration.

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES/A.6200

The CPR knew its male market, connecting the allure of the Prairies with romance.

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES/A.6409

In 1885, twenty dollars bought a railway trip to the centre of Canada. Today it buys a CD.

CUNARD

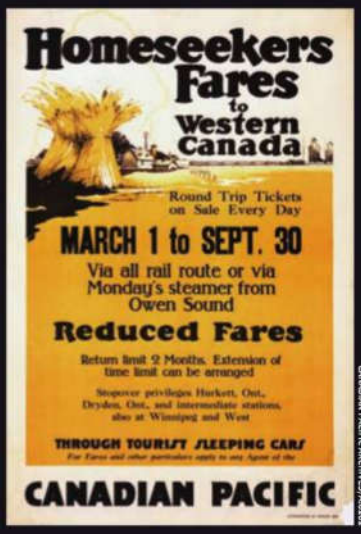
The Cunard Line was one of the largest promoters of immigration to the Canadian West.

Many soldiers coming home from the horrors of war would have been drawn to the idea of rural tranquility. *Canada West* oriented itself entirely and wholeheartedly to the rural life – although clearly immigration opportunities would have existed in growing urban centres such as Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Calgary. But what Canada needed for its plains was farmers, not more business or industrial workers. Indeed, the magazine strove to dissuade quests for urban prosperity. Of city life, the 1921 issue wryly observed, "It is the same old grind and the same old routine, with nearly every part of the monthly salary going to present-day maintenance. [The worker] is but a cog in the great commercial wheel and one who has failed to give his true condition proper and just consideration. With an equal loyalty to his daily pursuits, and but a part of the energy displayed in the city, he could reap all the advantages of life with its personal and financial independence by becoming a producer – a farm owner."

In order to discourage settlers from heading to urban centres, the rural life had to be convincingly portrayed as more desirable, even idealized. Efforts were made to appeal to potential settlers on an emotional level, and cover illustrations were the publication's best tool. Covers varied more than the articles, and allowed more room for subjectivity. Subliminal messages were visually inscribed, especially the government's agenda to populate the farms with prosperous white families. This was visually reinforced through cover illustrations. "The creators took special care with [the covers]," says Laura Detre, an independent scholar from the University of Maine who studies immigration advertising. In her PhD dissertation focusing on *Canada West* and the Canadian government's prairie development policy from 1896 to 1918, she observes, "Despite the continuity in the written message, each edition had a different cover." She explains why. "Covers, could be absorbed passively as they sat on a table, whereas the text required a conscious effort on the part of the recipient to read it. There was certainly more detail inside the publication, and I doubt that anyone decided to immigrate based on one of these covers, but they make a strong first impression."

Detre notes that the earlier covers (up to around 1920) were aimed at men who would be establishing homesteads, but it soon became clear to immigration officials that incoming males were vastly outnumbering females, threatening population growth and the farm family ideal.

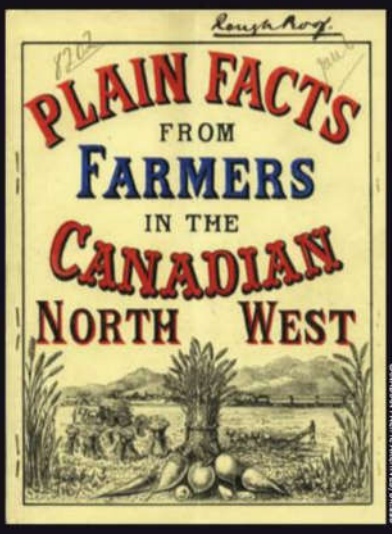
The cover of the 1921 edition (see page 27) reflected this shift and the government's effort to address the gender imbalance. While the inside material continued to speak to the needs and concerns of men, the cover was clearly designed to appeal to both genders. It shows a fashionably dressed housewife outside her new farmhouse beckoning to her husband harvesting in the fields. Such an image supported the impression that men could concentrate on fieldwork while women took care of the domestic chores. For women, Detre says, this image has a similar, but subtly different message, as they would identify with the woman in the illustration and feel assured that there was a place for them in farming society. Indeed, women were specifically targeted in the recruitment campaigns – brochures and documents were created and distributed to sell the appeal of farm life solely to women. The hope was, of course, that they would quickly marry. Detre maintains that, "if all the promises came true, women who immigrated to the Canadian West could


Homeseekers Fares to Western Canada
Round Trip Tickets on Sale Every Day
MARCH 1 to SEPT. 30
Via all rail route or via Monday's steamer from Owen Sound
Reduced Fares
Return limit 2 Months. Extension of time limit can be arranged
Stopover privileges Hurkett, Ont., Dryden, Ont., and intermediate stations, also at Winnipeg and West
THROUGH TOURIST SLEEPING CARS
CANADIAN PACIFIC
CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES/A.6203

This 1928 poster shows that everyone likes travel discounts, especially homesteaders.

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES/A-6733

An 1887 CPR French poster urges immigrants to settle in Manitoba and the Northwest.



CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES/BR.226

A booklet published in 1885 offered "The Plain Facts" from those already farming.

look forward to lives of leisure, spending a small portion of their day on housework and the majority of their time socializing and relaxing."

Subsequent covers emphasized happy children at play, often in the fields. In reality, most children toiled with farm chores, but the cover images assured newcomers that farms were so prosperous that farmhands could be employed to do the fieldwork.

Canada West was published annually from 1904, as terms for prairie provincehood (namely, Alberta and Saskatchewan) were heating up, to 1930; it was distributed in the United States and Great Britain. "It was a tool used by immigration agents who worked throughout rural Britain and in the American towns of Biddeford, Maine; Detroit; Toledo; Chicago; Boston; Watertown, South Dakota; Minneapolis and Indianapolis primarily," says Detre. "There were some small differences between the American and British editions, mostly small changes in phrasing." It was translated into many languages as well, including French, Swedish, German, Dutch, and Hungarian, not for distribution in those countries, but for ethnic communities in the United States.

ALBERTA ARCHIVES

In the early 1900s, homesteading regulations allowed anyone eighteen years of age or older to dwell on a quarter section of land. Homesteaders had to build and reside on their parcel of land for at least six months of the year, and bring thirty acres under cultivation. This was known as "proving up" a homestead.

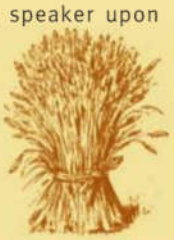
The magazine's success is difficult to gauge. "My sense is that this campaign was generally not as successful as many hoped," says Detre. For instance, she says, the best estimates claim that as many as one million Americans came to Canada during this period, many of them returning Canadians. But many others returned to the United States at a later point. The European campaign was probably more successful in retaining immigrants, but not all were those the government had envisioned. Detre points out that it was a period of tremendous immigration from Europe, particularly the province of Galicia in Austria-Hungary and the Ukraine. "Some within the Canadian government, such as Clifford Sifton, supported this. Others, such as Sifton's replacement as minister of the interior, Frank Oliver, opposed Slavic immigration. I believe that the importance of this campaign is that it illustrates the ideal society as envisioned by the white male elite in Ottawa." Detre feels that the federal government "attempted (unsuccessfully) to engineer a society that reflected their values. Who can say how the Prairie provinces, or Canada in general, would be different today had they been more successful?"

Sifton's Appeal

Clifford Sifton, a young western politician, was added to Wilfred Laurier's cabinet when he was appointed minister of the interior in 1896. With a mandate to increase immigration, oversee land settlement, and to build "a nation of good farmers," Sifton shaped immigration policy in the first decade of the 1900s with his mission to populate the Prairies. His strategy was to 1) eliminate roadblocks to settler land grants, 2) offer bonuses to transportation company recruiters, 3) promote and organize tours of the West for journalists, 4) target Britain, Europe, and the United States with brochures to attract farmers in need of land. These efforts were extremely effective: close to two million people immigrated to Canada during the "Laurier boom," more than half of whom were from Britain. Close on their heels were Americans, followed by a large influx of Ukrainians, Doukhobors, and other groups from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Sifton did not want to attract more city dwellers, feeling it would only exacerbate urban poverty and unemployment. He also instructed immigration agents to discourage the immigration of Jews, Italians, Asians, African Americans, and urban Englishmen. Instead, Sifton wanted immigration agents to recruit candidates whom he felt would be more likely to endure hardships and remain in Canada through difficult times, such as eastern and central Europeans. When pressed, he was prepared to admit immigrants from places other than Britain and America. In his urgent search for suitable farmers and labourers to populate the Prairies, he described what he sought in the ideal settler:

"When I speak of quality I have in mind something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of immigration. I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality."



Graham Chandler is a Calgary-based author with a PhD in archaeology.

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The Petr V. Ol'khovik family in a Doukhobor village in Ukraine, 1926. By 1928, the Ol'khoviks, like many Canadian Doukhobors who had emigrated to Soviet Russia, had returned to Canada. Many other eastern Europeans who left Canada to settle in Russia in the 1920s did not fare so well.

Back in the USSR

While thousands of eastern Europeans poured into Canada to settle the prairie west, a few hundred elected to return to their roots and build an agricultural utopia in the new Soviet Russia. Utopian, it wasn't. by Vadim Kukushkin

On March 11, 1922, at the port of New York, a large group parading red banners awaited the boarding call for the *Lithuania*, a Baltic-American Line steamer destined for the Latvian port of Liepaja. A cameraman caught a mixture of joy and anxiety on the travellers' faces as they watched Italian dockers hoist aboard their tractors, reapers, threshers, equipment for a small power plant, and countless chests and suitcases. In Russian, one of the banners proclaimed the group as the First Canadian Agricultural Commune.

The men and women who left New York that cool spring day were Ukrainians and Russians returning to Europe. By itself, this was hardly remarkable. In the early 1920s, thousands of immigrant labourers who had been trapped in America by World War I rushed back to the old land, their pockets bulging with dollars and their trunks filled with fancy American clothes. These 140 returnees had different motives for leaving – they were members of three agricultural communes recruited in Canada and the United States to help Soviet Russia build a workers' paradise following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

COURTESY OF JARS BALAN

Olena Koretska stands by the grave of her father, Pavlo Shlemko, who had been a member of the Myhaiv Commune. It is located among the ruins of the former commune buildings, north of Odessa, Ukraine.

In addition to fifty-two Canadian communards (commune members), mostly Ukrainian workers from Winnipeg and Montreal, the ship carried two American collectives: the First Agricultural Commune of New York and a group of autoworkers headed for Moscow. The destination of the Canadian party was Myhaiv, a village north of Odessa in the grassland steppes of southern Ukraine, where the Soviet government had given them 4,000 acres to establish a collective farm.

Attracting skilled workers and farmers was important for the Soviet state in the early 1920s. With a ruined economy and shortage of capital, Russia needed the knowledge and money of expatriate citizens and foreign sympathizers. The Soviets especially welcomed industrial and agricultural collectives, or communes, as models of mechanized cooperative labour for Russian workers and peasants. The communes were asked to bring enough supplies, machinery, and foodstuffs to run a collective farm or an industrial establishment without taxing the resources of the state. The call struck a sympathetic chord with many American and Canadian workers, particularly among immigrants of eastern European extraction, who made up the majority in Canadian and U.S. radical organizations.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, established in 1919 by Russian immigrants in New York, was the main agency that organized emigration from North America to the Soviet republics. Operating from Manhattan, it coordinated the recruitment campaign among American and Canadian immigrants, purchased supplies and machinery for the departing communes, and took care of transportation and visa matters. Formally an independent organization with its own statute and bylaws, it operated on Moscow's instructions. It had close links to the Communist Party of America and Canadian left-wing organizations such as the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. By 1922 the society boasted more than six thousand paid-up members and seventy-four branches on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel.

The Society for Technical Aid's first Canadian branch opened in September 1919 in Montreal through the efforts of local Russian and Ukrainian socialists. Six years later, the society had offices throughout Canada and attracted the attention of the RCMP, which had a wide network of informants within Canada's pro-Soviet organizations.

The First Canadian Agricultural Commune was a joint effort of the society and the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. The majority of its members were Ukrainian workers from Winnipeg, home of the Ukrainian-Canadian Communist movement and the association's headquarters. Commune members had to contribute $500 ($800 for a family) and show Communist loyalty. The funds were used to purchase tractors, trucks, and farming supplies.

In 1923 and 1924, the Myhaiv pioneers were followed by two other Ukrainian collectives: the Grain Grower from Toronto and the Workers' Field from Montreal. Both were granted land in southern Ukraine near the city of Kryvyy Rih. Many American communes also had Canadian members. Estonian farmers from Eckville, Alberta, joined fellow countrymen in New York to organize a commune named Dawn to symbolize the coming of the new era. Ukrainians and Russians from Alberta were members of the New World, based in Cleveland, and Russian immigrants from Vancouver joined the California Commune, organized in San Francisco. About four hundred Canadians, mostly immigrants from Ukraine and Russia, went to the USSR as members of communes.

Inspired by revolutionary enthusiasm and communist ideals, the communards envisioned a bright future in the land where workers and peasants had overthrown the czar and displaced capitalism. They had heard about the economic devastation, famine, and disease, but were set on overcoming all difficulties. "We will have one meal and work eighteen hours a day because we know that we are in a free land," Pavel Semenov and Ivan Palahnyuk wrote from Myhaiv to their Winnipeg comrades. For many, the desire to be part of the Communist experiment was combined with the joy of returning to the homeland.

Canadian Doukhobors, members of a Russian Christian sect, were also recruited. Yearning for home was always strong among the Doukhobors, even twenty years after leaving Russia. The Soviet leadership saw Doukhobors and other religious sectarians persecuted by the czarist monarchy as allies in the building of the new social order. Collectivist principles on which Doukhobors and other pacifist sects built their lives were considered in tune with the ideas of socialist revolution, even though they were rooted in religious beliefs rather than Marxism. The Bolshevik state highly valued Doukhobor experience in mechanized farming and intended to use it to show Soviet peasants the advantages of agricultural cooperation. In October 1921, the Bolshevik government issued an appeal "To Sectarians and Old Believers Residing in Russia and Abroad" to return and help the agricultural development of their homeland. All were promised large tracts of land and full exemption from military service.

In July 1922, Vasily Potapoff and Larion Taranoff left for Russia as delegates for the Independent Doukhobors of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Doukhobor dissidents who had adopted individual homesteading but continued to live in close-knit communities. They carried a list of 280 families prepared for an immediate move and a petition asking for the right of religious instruction for their children and "full and absolute" exemption from military service. Potapoff and Taranoff chose a settlement site in the Melitopol district of Zaporizhzhya Province, Ukraine, where the Soviet authorities granted each returned Doukhobor family forty-two acres. The first twenty-two pioneers from the Kamsack district of Saskatchewan headed for Russia in April 1923, followed by smaller parties in 1924 and 1926. Canadian newspapers reported in January 1924 that 3,000 Independent Doukhobors were preparing to immediately leave Canada. These predictions did not come true. Mixed impressions of the Bolshevik-ruled homeland, which reached Canada through returnees' letters, cooled the Doukhobors' enthusiasm. Most of those who still harboured plans of returning found it impossible to sell their farms and property in Canada at a fair price.

The first encounters with Soviet realities were sobering for many returnees. They were shocked by the arrogance of Soviet bureaucrats and Communist Party bosses, the lack of elementary amenities, and the contrast between starving children and Soviet *nouveaux riches* strolling the streets of Moscow. First Canadian Agricultural Commune members lived for two weeks in boxcars at a Moscow railway station awaiting a train to Odessa. Desertions began almost the day communards crossed the Soviet border.

With the exception of the Doukhobors, who received family homesteads, the immigrants were settled on former estates turned into state farms. Most farm property and buildings lay in ruin, and fields had not seen a plough for years. Everywhere the Canadians came across reminders of the revolutionary war and the famine of 1920–21. Sometimes these were gruesome: when men from the Grain Grower began digging a well, their spades hit a pile of human remains.

Because of a shortage of locomotives, it took months for their machines and property to arrive at the commune sites. The new arrivals had to put up makeshift sheds and buy horses and ploughs from local peasants. They were baffled by the extent of capitalism reintroduced into the Soviet economy after 1921, when Lenin's New Economic Policy replaced the nationalizing drive of the early post-revolution years. Communal savings melted away, spent on food, livestock, tools, and materials at steep prices. The high cost of gasoline and lack of parts for American-made farm machinery were the hardest to bear. In 1930, only one of the six tractors the Grain Grower had brought from Canada still worked. To supplement meagre incomes, men worked in the Donets Basin coalmines in eastern Ukraine, learning the art of bribery and cheating from the local miners.

The drain of members was another headache. The first to disappear were those who joined a commune simply to get admission to Soviet Russia. To fight desertion, many communes adopted statutes that prohibited leavers from claiming their share of the common property and money. Anyone withdrawing from the Myhaiv commune could receive only a three-day supply of food. Disillusioned by the communist experiment, some members wrote to relatives and friends in Canada or the U.S. for prepaid tickets to return to America. "We have made a big mistake and got into a plight, and we ask you to save us, not let us die and please take us back to America," Ivan Kurilov of the New World commune begged of friends in Cleveland. By 1925 the Grain Grower had lost more than a third of its members. By 1930, even the relatively successful First Canadian commune had only a third of its 124 original members.

The Doukhobor resettlement campaign was particularly disastrous. By 1925–26, conflicts with Soviet bureaucracy, anti-religious propaganda, and the animosity of the local population, who perceived them to be *kulaks* (a derogatory Russian word for well-off peasant) forced many Doukhobors to ponder leaving again. The first Doukhobor families returned to Canada in the fall of 1927. The next year the Soviet government broke its promise to exempt religious sectarians from military service and almost all of the remaining settlers fled. Canadian immigration officials were obviously pleased. Frederick Blair, assistant deputy minister of immigration, called for their speedy re-admission: "The effect of their return would be to kill propaganda by the Soviet Agents and at the same time make these people and their friends a lot more contented than they have been in the past."

Briefly independent after the 1917 Russian Revolution, Ukraine became one of the founding Soviet republics in 1922. In 1991, it became independent again after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The three Ukrainian-Canadian communes held on. One way of coping with desertions was to woo "class-conscious elements" among the local peasantry. The first reaction of the locals to the appearance of the "Canadians" in the area was usually cool. The communards' North American outfits, strange dialects peppered with English

In with the new

For idealists, the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 brought forth a new, socialist era in human history. But conditions within Soviet Russia in the years immediately following the Revolution thwarted any easy transfer to socialism. Civil war between the new Communist regime and its enemies wracked the countryside; by 1921, the Russian economy was in steep decline, with both industrial and agricultural production a fraction of pre-World War I levels. Lenin had adopted a program of extreme centralization during the civil war, but faced with the realities of the economy and the fact that 85 percent of Russia's people were peasants with little thirst for socialism, not the masses of urban workers Marxism required for a successful proletarian revolution, he instituted in spring 1921 the New Economic Policy – in effect, a pragmatic retreat from the strictures of communist orthodoxy. Under the NEP, peasants could lease and hire labour and retain excess produce to sell for a profit. Villagers could, within limits, manage their own economic lives as they saw fit. Under the NEP, which included reforms for industry and commerce, the Russian economy began to revive and by 1928 agricultural and industrial production had been restored to the 1913 level. However, the program, with its relative liberties given to private trade, was repugnant to organized workers and committed Marxists in the Bolshevik party. Whether Lenin had intended the NEP as a temporary measure or a permanent policy is unclear. He died in 1924. His successor, Joseph Stalin, departed from the NEP and eventually enforced full central planning and the collectivization of agriculture. In the 1930s, Stalin initiated the Great Purge to rid the Soviet Union of dissidents. It was during this campaign that Canadian communards were persecuted.

words, and their openly professed "godlessness" bred suspicion and mistrust. Peasants in Myhaiv believed, for instance, that the newcomers were agents sent to take back the land of their former landlord, wealthy German colonist Johann Keller. But as years passed, attitudes improved. Tractors and other machines mesmerized the peasants, who had rarely seen a vehicle other than a horse-drawn carriage. When the economic performance of the communes eventually surpassed the production levels of most individual households, caution gave way to genuine interest and inquiries about membership. Every candidate was carefully screened for anti-Soviet beliefs and any traces of a kulak background.

The Myhaiv commune was among the more successful. In 1924, it owned 17 buildings, a steam-powered mill, 46 horses, 91 head of cattle, and 210 pigs. But the communards had to abandon their naïve belief in the arrival of communist society that would immediately follow the proletarian revolution. They tried to introduce money-free economies based on the famous communist dictum "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Members lived in shared quarters, ate together, and were not allowed to own individual property. But it was soon learned that such a system penalized hard workers and rewarded idlers. In the late 1920s, the commune introduced differential wages depending on the workers' qualifications and the type of work. A fixed portion went to the communal treasury, but extra earnings could be used to purchase personal items.

Soviet authorities declared the Canadian group a "model commune" and turned it into a showcase of socialist farming. Visits by international Communists such as Myroslav Irchan, a renowned Ukrainian writer, were especially welcome. Irchan had edited *The Working Woman*, a Ukrainian Communist weekly in Winnipeg. In 1930, he visited Myhaiv, describing his impressions in a series of sketches entitled *A Prairie Oasis. Ukrainian Labour News*, the leading organ of Ukrainian-Canadian Communists, reprinted his essays and photographs of the commune's idyllic life. Four years later Irchan became one of the early victims of Stalin's purges and disappeared in the gulag.

While most of the Canadian communes survived and some succeeded, the movement of new members from Canada slowed around 1924 and virtually stopped in 1926. Letters from disillusioned communards and stories carried back to Canada by returnees discouraged others, and the Roaring Twenties ended the unemployment and pessimism that had fuelled eastern Europeans' re-emigration to the USSR. Also, American and Canadian Communist organizations complained to Moscow about the exodus of their best cadres.

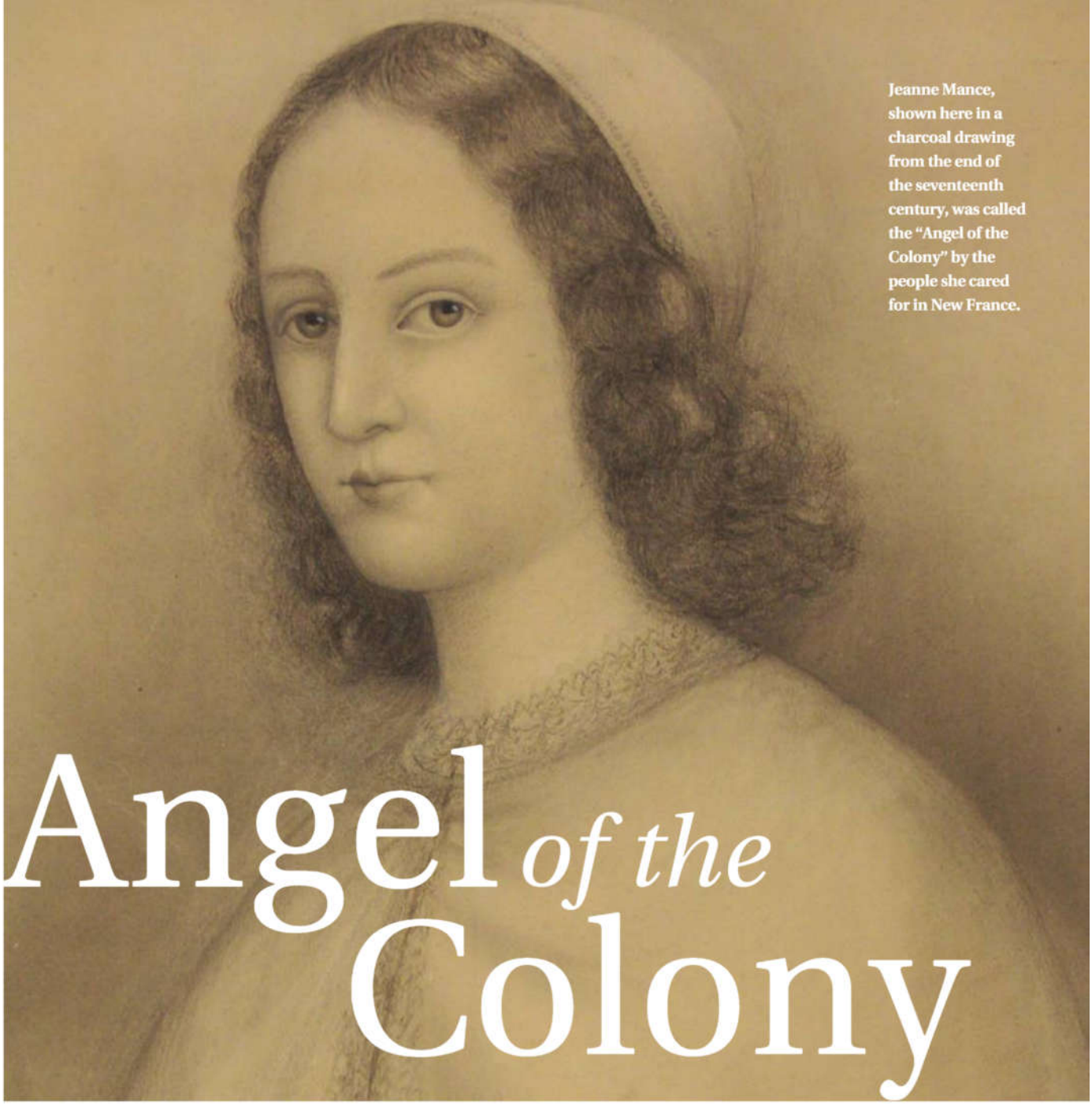
By the 1930s, Stalin no longer needed immigrant communes to convince Soviet peasants of the merits of cooperative farming. Brutal force was faster and easier. All immigrant communes were converted into standard collective farms and assigned hefty production quotas. A few years later Stalinist repressions struck. Those with North American connections were easy targets as "agents of world imperialism." Many Canadian communards were shot by Soviet secret police or died in labour camps.

Today, a traveller in the southern Ukrainian steppe can still see the ruins of Keller's mansion, once the living quarters for Myhaiv communards. With the headstones in the local cemetery, they stand as sombre monuments to the hundreds of Canadians of the 1920s who dreamed of building a communist utopia and found a nightmare.

Vadim Kukushkin is a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta. He is coeditor of *Mikhail Klochko: Soviet Scientist, Cold-War Defector, Canadian Storyteller*, published by Penumbra Press (2002).

Et Cetera

Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1920 by Mark Wyman. Ithaca Press, Reading, England, 1993.



Jeanne Mance, shown here in a charcoal drawing from the end of the seventeenth century, was called the "Angel of the Colony" by the people she cared for in New France.

COLLECTION DES HOSPITALIÈRES DE SAINT-JOSEPH

Angel *of the* Colony

Jeanne Mance was one of the founders of Montreal and founder of its Hôtel-Dieu. Courageous and resourceful, she was beloved in her lifetime and legend ever after. by Joanna Emery

In the spring of 1640, Jeanne Mance found herself very much alone. Her widowed father, a successful *Procureur du Roi* (king's attorney) in the town of Langres in the Champagne district of France, was dead; and her ten younger siblings, whom she had helped raise in the wake of her mother's premature death, were largely grown. She was in her mid-thirties, unmarried, and alone – highly unusual circumstances for a rural seventeenth-century woman. Such a woman at such a time may have taken the veil. But Mance, though likely educated by local Ursuline nuns and evidently deeply spiritual, elected not to join an order.

It was at this time that Mance had an impromptu visit from her cousin Nicolas Dolebeau, a chaplain in Paris. He brought the latest news on New France and quoted passages from the *Jesuit Relations*, the detailed reports from the colony's Jesuit missions that were pub-

lished in Paris and were bestsellers of the day. Mance was intrigued and inspired. She had grown up hearing stories of this untamed land full of souls ripe for conversion to the Catholic faith. Her destiny seemed to call from across the ocean, and she was obligated to follow it. She later wrote: "There is nothing in the world that I would refuse to do to accomplish the divine and all-loving will of God. [God's will] is the only desire and love of my heart. Therein is my passion, all my affections, my only love, and my sole paradise."

COLLECTION DES HOSPITALIÈRES DE SAINT-JOSEPH

When she visited Paris at the age of thirty-four, Jeanne Mance met Madame Angélique de Bullion, a prosperous widow of the French superintendent of finance under Louis XIII. De Bullion proposed to fund a hospital, which Mance would run, in New France. Out of religious devotion, de Bullion tried to keep her gift a secret.

November 12, 2006 marks the 400th anniversary of the birth of Jeanne Mance, the first lay nurse in North America and co-founder of Ville-Marie, the early name given to Montreal. Cultured and full of European old-world charm, Montreal is one of Canada's most celebrated cities. It is hard to imagine Canada without the vibrant metropolis, but had it not been for Mance, Montreal might never have been founded.

Mance was thirty-four when she left her homeland for New France. The colony was half a world away, and the destinies of newcomers were fraught with uncertainty, attracting only those who sought economic gain through the fur trade, or the religious devotees dedicated to bringing the Christian faith to its native people. Mance was one of the latter, yet she was not a nun. Deeply spiritual, yes, but there is no indication that she ever considered taking the veil. Instead, she offered a practical skill – nursing. Her caregiving abilities were likely acquired through necessity – wars and epidemics had ravaged Langres during her youth. The fortress village had been hit hard during the Thirty Years War, and Mance, an independent, caring, and pious young woman, would have tended the many wounded soldiers and plague victims of her town.

Mance knew that she had a rare opportunity to do whatever she pleased. After the visit with her chaplain cousin Nicholas Dolebeau and consultation with a spiritual advisor, Mance embarked on a month-long journey to Paris to visit Père Charles Lalement, who was in charge of the Jesuits in Canada. There she also met missionary leaders and mingled with aristocratic society, including Queen Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII. To these affluent Parisians, New France held a utopian promise. God was calling them to establish Catholicism in the colony, a welcome objective given the longstanding religious and political strife within Europe. Mance was introduced to Angélique Faure de Bullion, the widow of a former king's financier. The wealthy Madame de Bullion asked her to oversee the founding of a hospital in the new settlement of Montreal. Generous and intensely devout, de Bullion insisted on remaining an anonymous benefactress. After prayer and reflection, Mance was confident that she was following God's will and set off for the French port of La Rochelle, from where she would depart for New France.

At La Rochelle, Mance met Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, a tax collector and mystical visionary who had founded a religious congregation dedicated to serving the sick and needy. Through La Dauversière, Mance agreed to act as nurse for the mission to be established in Montreal. She also became a member of the Society of Notre Dame of Montreal for the Conversion of Savages of New France. The Society hoped the Montreal settlement would become a "Holy City of God," where dedicated Catholics and converted native people could live in harmony.

On June 1, 1641, Mance was among the colonists setting out with a small fleet led by twenty-nine-year-old soldier Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve, headed for New France. Deciding to wait until spring to make their way to Montreal, the party remained in Sillery, welcoming a few more recruits. The general consensus in New France was that the Montreal expedition was a "foolhardy enterprise," as the Quebec governor put it. Maisonneuve, according to Sulpician priest François Dollier de Casson, firmly retorted: "Sir, as it was determined by my company that I would go to Montreal, it is for me a question of honour, and you will find it good that I go up there to begin a colony, even though every tree of this island were to change into an Iroquois."

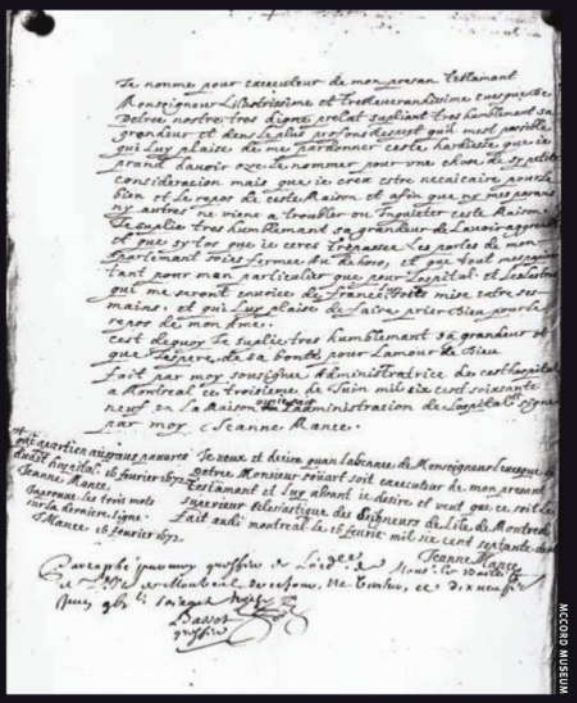
The expedition arrived on May 17, 1642, and Montreal's first mass was celebrated in a small clearing on a makeshift altar decorated with wildflowers. The next day, work began on a palisade to protect the settlement. It was the unpredictable St. Lawrence River, not Iroquois attacks, which threatened the settlement the following winter. When the fort was spared from massive flooding, Maisonneuve, accompanied by Mance and the other colonists, climbed Mount Royal to erect a large wooden cross, the inspiration behind the brightly lit cross that shines atop Mount Royal today.

COLLECTION DES HOSPITALIÈRES DE SAINT-JOSEPH

A ceramic chevrette, kept intact by nuns from the Hôtel-Dieu from the late 1600s. The chevrette was used to hold and dispense liquids extracted from plants, or other medicinal liquids.

A pot-canon, a medical object from the Hôtel-Dieu, was used to keep medicinal plants (leaves, roots) as powder. The pot was sealed with a skin or waxed paper attached at the top.

A mortar and pestle, used to crush and grind medicinal ingredients, from the Hôtel-Dieu around the late 1600s.



The testament, or will, that Jeanne Mance wrote in 1672, shortly before her death. The diagonal writing at the bottom of the document is a result of her frailty.

MCCORD MUSEUM

At first, Mance's hospital was a room within the fort that operated as scarcely more than a dispensary. It was here that she cared for her fellow colonists. Though a few Algonquin settled nearby, most left the area, fearing Iroquois attacks. The colonists quickly learned that few native people wished to adopt the French culture or religion (although one Algonquin named Pachirini remained in the fort, converted to Catholicism, and changed his name to Charles).

Construction of the hospital Hôtel-Dieu began in 1645 under Mance's supervision. It was built near the intersection of today's St. Paul and St. Sulpice streets in Old Montreal. It had six beds for men and two for women, with a large fireplace at one end for cooking. The washing was hung to dry in the attic near a small room that served as living quarters. Mance arranged for supplies to be shipped to the hospital from France, including medical instruments, linens, tin and copper vessels, chapel furniture, a chalice, and a monstrance (a receptacle in which the consecrated Host is exposed for veneration).

Mance had come to New France to be a nurse. Skirmishes with the Iroquois brought her first patients; she cleaned wounds and prepared medicines and salves. The *Jesuit Relations* of 1645 reported that Mance was an attentive nurse to her patients and "made their stay a holiday."

The following years proved difficult, however, with the greatest anxiety caused by the constant threat of Iroquois attacks. Problems were also brewing across the ocean. Mance had to convince Parisian sponsors to maintain their support amid France's turbulent political and social climate. Letters from France informed her that Le Royer de La Dauversière was ill and nearly bankrupt, and the Society of Notre Dame was about to fall apart. She immediately left for France – the first of three trips she would eventually take back to her homeland – to ensure funding continued for the Montreal mission.

Successful in her efforts to secure funds, Jeanne returned to Montreal in 1650, finding that the situation with the Iroquois had worsened. Casson wrote that "every day they saw only enemies; at night they dared not open the door, and by day no one dared go four steps from the house without gun, sword or pistol" and that the Iroquois had "turned their attention towards the Island of Montreal … there is not a month in this summer when our book of the dead has not been stained in red letters by the hands of the Iroquois."

With the colony in peril, Jeanne Mance made a decision that would ultimately ensure its survival. She tactfully authorized the use of 22,000 livres (one livre was worth one pound of silver) in hospital funds to recruit defenders. Maisonneuve accepted Mance's proposal and set off for France with the goal to secure no fewer than one-hundred soldiers, or else face the possibility of having the settlers abandon Montreal altogether. He returned two years later with the necessary support, including four Sulpician priests and a dedicated nun who was to become Mance's close companion and eventually Canada's first female saint, Marguerite Bourgeoys.

Still, hardship continued. On a cold January day, Mance slipped on ice, fracturing her right arm and dislocating her wrist. The injury was so severe that she was unable to dress herself. Despite her health condition, knowing that she needed to persuade more nuns to work at the hospital, Mance left for France in 1658 accompanied by Marguerite Bourgeoys. In Paris, Mance visited the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice and, while praying, the use of her injured arm was miraculously restored. She immediately bore witness to the occurrence in a written statement, conveying that she composed "these words after

MICHEL GROLEAU

A statue of Maisonneuve outside the Basilica of Notre-Dame in Montreal.

Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve

Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve, born February 15, 1612, was a French military officer and is considered the founder of Montreal, along with Jeanne Mance. Maisonneuve was born into aristocracy in Neuville-sur-Vanne in Champagne, France, not very far from where Mance spent her early years. Maisonneuve joined the military at thirteen years of age, and while little was recorded of his career, he was noted for his courage and piety. Maisonneuve was later hired by Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, head of the Society of Notre Dame, to build a mission at New France. It was his duty to lead and protect the fifty-six or so colonists.

They paid little heed to warnings from the governor of Quebec that a settlement on the Island of Montreal – in the heart of Iroquois territory – would be dangerous. At this time, Mance established and managed the hospital for the colonists. When the Iroquois discovered the settlement in 1643, a long conflict followed. Maisonneuve defended the settlement over the ensuing years; eventually it grew large enough to stave off the Iroquois threat.

The Crown took control of the colony in 1663 and Maisonneuve was recalled to France in 1665, after twenty-four years at the head of the colony. He died in 1676 in Paris.

Holy Mass, with my right hand of which for two years I had not any use."

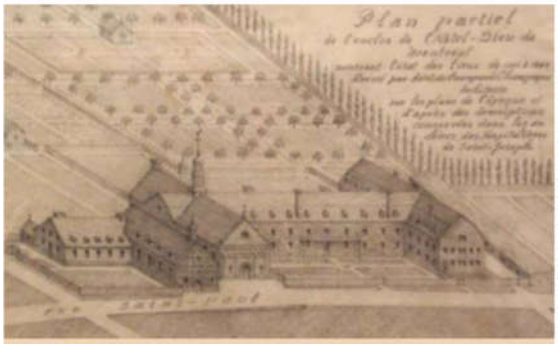
Mance found three nuns to accompany her back to Hôtel-Dieu – Judith Moreau de Brésoles, Catherine Macé, and Marie Maillet. They were among the original Hospitallers, the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph (RHSJ), an order that continues to this day and regards Montreal's Hôtel-Dieu as the origin of more than sixty similar institutions worldwide. Protesters, however, tried to obstruct the nuns' departure: they were unwilling to let the young women embark on such a dangerous vocation. The nuns were obliged to leave under escort for their own safety. At La Rochelle, several passengers who had agreed to become future colonists had a change of heart; to make up the difference, Maisonneuve went so far as to accept a few Protestants among the hundred or so people bound for Montreal.

The return journey lasted longer than two months. Ten died at sea and Mance fell gravely ill. Upon arrival at Quebec City in early September, the ship's passengers were relegated to a storage building that housed goods to be sent on to the colony. New France's bishop, François de Laval, opposed the Hospitallers' continuing on to Montreal, claiming that their somewhat secular order had taken only simple vows. He urged them to join the Augustinian nuns (already established at the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec City) or return to France, but eventually he permitted their passage back to Montreal.

The next three decades were filled with hardship, fear of attack, and poverty for Montreal's Hospitallers. They survived on whatever rations were available, such as coarse bread, corn, pumpkin, and occasionally moose meat. Sister Marie Morin, who lived with Mance from 1662 to 1673, documented many of her experiences in the *Annals of Hôtel-Dieu*. She wrote that on winter mornings the nuns shovelled out snow that had drifted through the crevices of their building. This task could take as long as three hours, and by then, "their food was so frozen they could not use it."

Mance made her final journey back to France in 1662 to negotiate the transfer of funds and resources to Montreal. La Dauversière had died a few years earlier and the defunct Society of Notre Dame handed over the Island of Montreal to the Sulpicians. In 1663, New France received royal assent making it a Crown colony under Louis XIV. Mance returned to Montreal in 1664, only to see Maisonneuve permanently recalled to France the following year. Financial hardships at Hôtel-Dieu, conflicts with New France Bishop Laval, and ill health marred the remainder of her life. But Mance also saw the colony at Montreal grow strong and secure during the last years she spent in New France.

Jeanne Mance died on June 18, 1673, and was buried in the church of the Hôtel-Dieu. Her remains and the house she built were destroyed in a fire in 1696 (though it was rebuilt). By 1700, Montreal had two-hundred families, although its unsanitary conditions and social problems were a far cry from the envisioned "Holy City of God." Mance's valiant efforts, however, were never forgotten. She was known as the "Angel of the Colony." During her life in New France, she never married, but acted as godmother to more than forty children and often received orphans into her care. As Sister Morin wrote of Mance: "She possessed a charming grace, a fine and noble bearing, an attractive personality, keen wit, and above all, was gifted with natural eloquence." Those qualities helped a fledgling settlement on the St. Lawrence River endure to become one of Canada's greatest cities.



COLLECTION DES HOSPITALIÈRES DE SAINT-JOSEPH

Hôtel-Dieu

The first Hôtel-Dieu in New France, one of the first hospitals in North America, was built about six years before the hospital founded by Jeanne Mance. The Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec City was completed in August 1639. The foundation of this building still exists at Quebec City's rue du Palais, with the oldest section of the building dating back to 1696.

The Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal, founded by Mance and funded by Madame de Bullion, was completed in 1645. Three times the building was destroyed by fire and rebuilt. In 1861 the Hôtel-Dieu moved to its present location on Mont Ste-Famille, Montreal, where it is now affiliated with the University of Montreal as a teaching hospital.

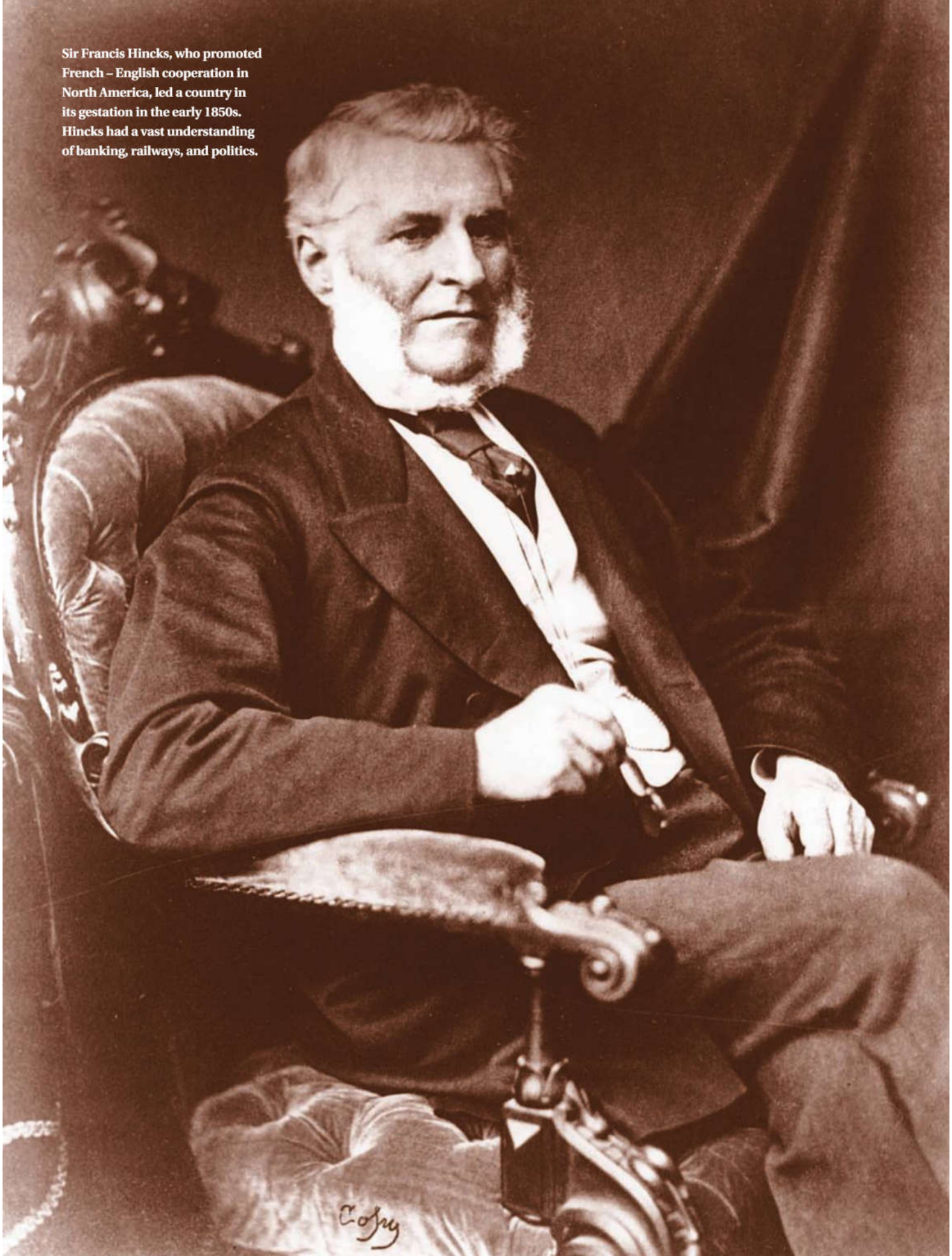
The Hospitallers later built other hospitals in Canada, including those at Tracadie, Chatham, and Campbellton, New Brunswick; Kingston and Windsor, Ontario; and at Chicoutimi, Arthabaska, Lévis, and Gaspé, Quebec.

Joanna Emery writes children's books and has a BA in history. Her latest book is *Caring for a Colony: The Story of Jeanne Mance* (Napoleon Publishing, Toronto)

Et Cetera

Damoiselle Mance, an exhibition of the life and work of Jeanne Mance, is on display at the Musée des Hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal until May 2008. For more information, visit ‹www.museedeshospitalieres.qc.ca›.

Jeanne Mance: The Woman, the Legend and the Glory by Sister Elizabeth MacPherson. Bronson Agency, Toronto, 1985.



Sir Francis Hincks, who promoted French – English cooperation in North America, led a country in its gestation in the early 1850s. Hincks had a vast understanding of banking, railways, and politics.

The Buck Starts Here

By the nineteenth century, Canada's currency had become a frustrating hodge-podge of coins and notes. It took a man of dubious financial repute to straighten it all out. by Robert M. MacIntosh

The Canadian dollar came to exist mainly through the determination of one man – Sir Francis Hincks. Though credited with changing an unregulated and fallible currency system and making it standardized and accountable, Hincks battled his own political demons when it came to issues of accountability. He was suspected of malfeasance, corrupt stock trading, and dishonest land speculating in the mid-1800s. In essence, he was accused of profiting from his inside knowledge of an assortment of business schemes while arranging deals for railway construction, along with other public works. When rumours were at their worst, in 1853, Hincks was labelled by newspapers, including the *Globe* and *Montreal Gazette*, as the "arch-corruptionist." So, how is it that this man was put in charge of the nation's finances?

A lifelong colonial administrator and politician, Hincks worked toward uniting the colony and in 1841 created a Reform Party with Robert Baldwin and Louis LaFontaine. In 1848, he served as inspector general, promoting railway construction – another of his main pursuits. Hincks replaced Baldwin as leader of the Province of Canada in 1851. Unable to deal with growing political unrest and tainted by rumours of corruption, Hincks's ministry was defeated in 1854. But during that time, even amid scandals and finger pointing, Hincks made sweeping and lasting advances to the currency system – it can be argued that he created the Canadian currency system.

MCCORD MUSEUM

Before France ceded control over Canada to Britain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris, there was no financial system in the colony. While there was a large supply of paper currency in circulation in Lower Canada, issued by the French government, this form of money was not regarded as a safe reserve by the Canadiens. Instead, most thrifty and prudent farmers kept their savings in "specie," gold and silver coin money, as opposed to paper currency. Their instinct to keep their savings socked away in coin jars proved correct. After the fall of Quebec in 1759, French paper money became worthless, and it would be many, many decades before the distrust of paper money would fade away. The British military governors of Quebec lacked interest in developing trade and finance regulations, such as a standardized currency system. The aristocratic seigneurs who remained in Lower Canada were equally uninterested. All were contemptuous of merchants and

traders, most of whom made their way to Montreal from London, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. With inadequate financial legislation, domestic trade and the financing of exports and imports were severely hampered.

The lack of money to use for business transactions continued to plague the economy until Confederation. The most commonly used currencies were a jumble of gold and silver coins – Spanish, French, and English. A shortage of gold and silver coins led to various improvisations of paper money. In Quebec, some merchants and manufacturers issued small promissory notes called "bon-pours," meaning "good for." They paved the way for the subsequent issue of bank notes.

During the War of 1812 between the United States and the colonies of British North America, Canadian authorities began to issue "army bills" to finance the war effort; these bills circulated in large numbers within the colonies. When the war ended, the British government redeemed the notes at full value, which helped restore the public's trust in paper money. Although the bills were a little different from the usual paper currency, they were, at least,

MCCORD MUSEUM

Shown here is the Bank of Montreal in Montreal's Place d'Armes in 1871. The Bank of Montreal, Canada's oldest chartered bank, opened on November 3, 1817.

paper, and helped the public become accustomed to a reliable paper circulation. For a short while, the colony enjoyed a period of prosperity. Though the usual complaint of circulation shortages receded, the lack of large-denomination money continued to impede foreign trade.

In the early 1800s, the merchants of Montreal were having great difficulty financing their exports of flour, potash, lumber, and fur to Britain while paying for imports of clothing, sugar, salt, and farm tools. A market developed in bills of exchange, which were orders to pay addressed to the buyer and issued by the seller, payable to a third party. But the great distance, among other nuisances, caused gaps in payment of as long as two years. Buyers in faraway London were not necessarily trustworthy or capable of meeting their obligations, and the same was true of Canadian importers. Hence the emergence of the role of a financial intermediary – the first banks – to buy bills of exchange at a discount and to provide credit to facilitate trade.

Until the union of the provinces in 1841, currency circulation was unsatisfactory, partly due to the dumping of discarded American coins. This led to a strong push for the use of paper currencies. While chartered banks had their own notes in circulation, and they were supposed to be redeemable at par, in reality, they were sometimes redeemable only at a loss in cities distant from the issuing bank. The supply of bank notes also fluctuated with seasonal economic conditions, and banks were restricted in the amount they could issue in relation to their capital. As a result, circulation contracted whenever the need for more currency was most strongly felt.

The transition from a poorly regulated currency system to defined legal tender and standardized currency involved a prolonged political battle. Canada's oldest chartered bank, the Bank of Montreal, opened in 1817, and it was conferred power to issue its own bank notes (backed by government securities) from the beginning. In the decades before bank deposits and cheques on deposits became the regular means of making payments, chartered bank notes were the common form of paying bills. For banks, notes were the principal source of their funds to provide loans, and they were non-interest bearing.

After the political union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, a new standardized rating for coins came into effect. Lord Sydenham, governor general of the Province of Canada, spearheaded a proposal to prohibit notes issued by chartered banks and to replace them with government-issued paper currency. Further, Sydenham proposed that the legislature establish a provincial bank to issue the paper currency, secured by a reserve consisting of twenty-five percent gold and seventy-five percent government securities. By centralizing Canada's banking and currency system, Sydenham wanted to bolster Canada's economic power and stability; this, in turn, could fund public projects, such as railway construction, on a large scale.

In 1841, the Legislative Assembly's committee on banking and currency considered Sydenham's proposal and also had the task of dealing with currency standards. Bankers and businessmen generally supported the introduction of a decimal system, because of its convenience, and the hope that it would strengthen financial and commercial relationships with the United States.

Sir Francis Hincks, the chairman of the committee, supported and reflected Sydenham's views to a considerable extent. Earlier, in 1847, Hincks had mobilized efforts to develop a permanent, government-issue currency for Canada and to move to a decimal system. In line with Sydenham's views, Hincks submitted an act to the treasury board that would have equalized Canadian and American standards, corresponding to the American dollar. The treasury board declared that the proposed act "involved an uncalled for and most objectionable interference with the prerogative of the Crown." But Hincks was used to

NATIONAL CURRENCY COLLECTION, CURRENCY MUSEUM, BANK OF CANADA

A selection of Canadian currency

FRANCE,
DOUBLE TOURNOIS, 1610
Initially valued at two deniers, the copper "double tournois" was shipped in the early 1600s to New France in large quantities.

FRENCH REGIME,
PLAYING CARD MONEY,
WORTH 50 LIVRES, 1714
Playing cards, like this reproduction, were Canada's first paper currency. They were given different values and circulated from 1685 to 1714.

FRANCE,
LOUIS D'OR, 1723
The French government routinely shipped gold and silver coins (called specie) to New France.

SPAIN,
2 REALS, 1760
This silver Spanish colonial coin bears a bust of King Charles III. It is a typical example of the silver dollars that circulated in Canada and the U.S.

GREAT BRITAIN,
1 SHILLING, 1825
Widely used in British North America, the British shilling, like other coins of this period, was officially inflated in value to keep it from leaving the country.

PROVINCE OF CANADA,
DOUBLE-PROOF SET, 1858
To celebrate Canada's new coinage, several sets of special coins, called proofs, were prepared for presentation.

DOMINION OF CANADA,
1870
The Dominion of Canada's first coinage consisted of four denominations: 5, 10, 25, and 50 cents.

DOMINION OF CANADA,
$2, 1914
The portraits of Canada's governors general and their wives were commonly featured on Canadian government notes in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Shown here is the Duke of Connaught and his wife.

ROYAL BANK OF CANADA, $5, 1943
Banks were finally prohibited from issuing their own notes in 1944. This 1943 note is one of the last issued by a chartered bank.

BANK OF CANADA, $10, 1954 SERIES
This was the first note series to portray Canadian landscapes (on the back side of the note). This was also the only series to feature the reigning monarch on each denomination.

BANK OF CANADA, $20, 2004
The Canadian Journey series is the sixth note issue by the Bank of Canada. The back side of this note illustrates the theme of Canadian arts and culture with Haida images.

encountering such frustrations, having met with ongoing opposition in the past years in his drive to promote railway development. He was well prepared to state his case, making such a lucid and convincing argument against the treasury board's refusal that the board felt it necessary to justify their decision with an elaborate reply – certainly not standard practice. While Hincks's proposed currency act was ultimately disallowed, it advanced the discussion, making great strides toward the eventual adoption of the decimal system in Canada.

So when Francis Hincks was charged with heading the committee to study the Sydenham currency proposal in 1851, it was no surprise that he strongly favoured such a national plan. However, the proposal was widely opposed, and the provincial assembly turned it down. In particular, banks, concerned over losing a profitable activity, lobbied and resisted efforts to replace their bank notes with government-issued currency. And it wasn't just the banks creating opposition. Borrowers were also worried that government control would lead to tighter credit conditions. There was also great public apprehension that a federal bank in control of paper currency would be open to political abuse and corruption. Their fear had validity: Sydenham expected to reap personal rewards through the introduction of a government currency through profits from seignoirage payouts.

With the assembly's rejection of the governor general's proposal, a government issue of paper currency would take another twenty-five years to make an appearance. Despite Lord Sydenham's failure, efforts to introduce a decimal-based currency gained momentum through the 1850s, especially when Francis Hincks became prime minister of the Province of Canada in 1851. In June of that year, Hincks organized a meeting in Toronto with representatives from the Province of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia to work toward the establishment of a decimal currency.

Hincks lobbied London from 1851 to 1854 to allow the Province of Canada to denominate its accounts in dollars rather than sterling, with the objective of instituting a decimal system. While finally conceding to switching to a decimal currency, the British government was still reluctant to allow Canada to adopt the dollar as a foreign currency system, concerned that it could lead to larger aspirations of independence. A compromise currency act was proclaimed in August 1854, which stipulated that pounds, shillings, and pence, *as well as* dollars and cents, would be recognized as Canadian currency. Following this achievement, Hincks worked to define a rate for the dominion dollar, which was valued at 23.22 grains of gold, precisely the same as the American dollar. The British pound was worth 113 grains of gold, equal to $4.86. But most importantly, the Canadian dollar was equal to the U.S. dollar. For the first time, there was a fixed relationship between the three currencies, an enormous benefit in trade and the conduct of daily financial affairs.

Still, it took another four years before the Province of Canada reached a consensus to keep government

The bank

Not only did Francis Hincks resolve Canada's currency

The origins of the Canadian banking system are obscured by myth. A widely held misconception is that the Scots brought their model of banking over to Canada. Instead, Canada's banking system is largely based on American precedents. The useful features of the U.S. system survived beyond Confederation. At the same time, Canada's leaders benefited from observing the banking disasters south of the border.

The same kinds of trade inefficiencies and currency problems plaguing Canadian merchants in the eighteenth century were felt in Boston and New York (through which a growing proportion of Canada's import/export business was directed, owing mainly to the longer shipping season). A more formal financial structure was needed, and in 1791, the First Bank of the United States opened in Philadelphia.

The first American national bank was the forerunner to the Canadian banking system. First attempts to define a Canadian bank charter were copied almost section by section from the charter of the First Bank of the United States, which had been authored by Alexander Hamilton, first secretary of the treasury. Hamilton forcefully championed the view that a sound national banking system was required to raise a prosperous nation. But the Constitution of 1787 did not determine whether banking was a federal or state matter. From here rose a fundamental divergence between the American and the Canadian banking system: national vs. state control.

Congress endorsed the creation of the First Bank of the United States and supported a national charter to force state-controlled banks to behave prudently. Still, after twenty years, when the charter came up for renewal in 1811, Congress quashed it because it had been doing its job too well. The bank, meanwhile, was seen as an elitist institution from the northeast states.

After the War of 1812, America was flooded with paper money issued by banks of dubious credentials, so two years later, the charter of the First Bank of the United States was revived as the Second Bank of the United States. But in 1836, Congress once again allowed the charter to lapse for the same reasons put forward in 1811. The United States would never again enjoy a national banking system with branches of banks across the country.

Meanwhile, the Bank of Montreal began operating in late 1817. An earlier attempt to incorporate a Bank of Lower Canada had been made as early as 1792. Strikingly, the proposed charter of this earlier bank copied verbatim the articles of the First Bank of the United States, only changing the name of the bank at the top of the document. At its start, the Bank of Montreal sent an officer to train in New York at the Second Bank of the United States.

starts here, too

confusion, he founded the banking system we know and (occasionally) love today.

The articles of the Bank of Montreal were silent on the power to establish branches, but its earliest directors believed this power extended exclusively to itself, as a large, urban bank. They opposed branching by smaller banks. Their perception was reinforced by the model of the Bank of England, which stood out far above the small unincorporated "country banks." From the early 1800s until Confederation, many banks were chartered in Lower Canada, Upper Canada, and the Maritimes, but the Bank of Montreal was by far the largest, with 25 percent of total assets. Its directors continued to press for a Bank of England model, in which they alone would have the power to open branches.

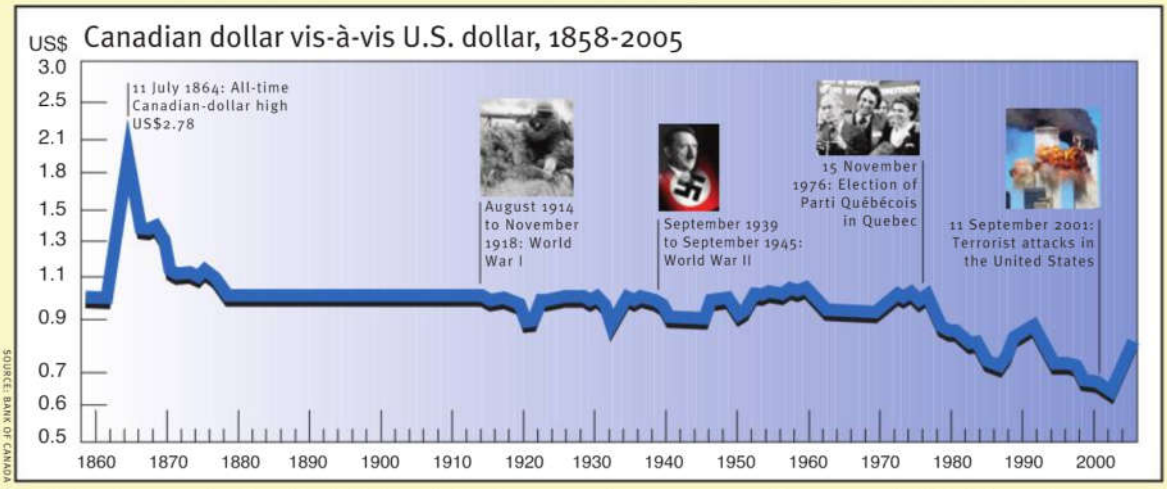
In negotiations leading to Confederation, great attention was paid to the disastrous course banking legislation had taken in the United States. There, individual states had taken over the licensing of banks after Congress killed the Second National Bank. The State of New York – and other states – introduced the concept of "free banking," which meant that anyone who had financial backing could obtain a bank licence. There was an explosion in the number of banks, with feeble regulation. Fraudulent paper money flooded the country and poured into Canada.

The situation worsened when the Civil War suspended the federal government's ability to control legal tender. Wartime inflation and lack of control over money caused the U.S. dollar to depreciate to half the value of the Canadian dollar. Yet Canada still lacked a national legal tender. It was this scenario that confronted negotiators of the British North America Act. Not surprisingly, money and banking were centralized, regulated, and made uniform. Ottawa obtained exclusive power to create and regulate banks, currency and coinage, interest rates, legal tender, bankruptcy, and related financial matters. The provincial charters of thirty-eight banks were extended until the new government could finalize the terms of the first Bank Act.

In modern times, revisions to the bank act sometimes take years to become law, and political infighting over financial legislation is a norm. The first Bank Act set the standard: it took four years to move from generalities to the details spelled out in the first Bank Act. Two ministers of finance came and went before Sir Francis Hincks succeeded in reintroducing a bill that Parliament would pass in 1871. Among the critical features of the new federal act were minimum capital requirements, a limit on the note issue of banks, a prohibition against engaging any other trade or business, and a six percent ceiling on interest rates. The new finance minister underlined the need to make currency uniform and to provide security to note holders.

On the eve of Confederation, the Bank of Upper Canada failed, followed by the collapse of the Commercial Bank of Kingston, Ontario, and the Gore Bank, leaving Upper Canada with only a few upstarts, including the Bank of Commerce and the Toronto Bank. Canada had experienced its first great boom period before Confederation, but lost two of its three largest banking institutions in the process.

Nearly all of the banks, including those in the Maritimes, opposed the efforts of the Bank of Montreal to establish a stronghold. In the end, all banks received identical powers. Francis Hincks spelled out the merits of having branches nationwide in the House of Commons, which, over time, led to the evolution of a national banking system consisting of a few large banks with many branches.



In the last few years, the Canadian dollar has climbed from around 62 cents to around 90 cents to the U.S. dollar, an increase of 45 percent. During the Civil War in the United States, the Canadian dollar reached U.S. $2.78, all all-time Canadian dollar high.

The business of history meets the history of business

Historians may study the history of banking, but what about those directly involved in such an enterprise? Do bankers study the history of banking?

Philosopher George Santayana famously wrote, "those who do not remember history are condemned to repeat it." But in the world of business, with its relentless future focus, history is often an afterthought, if it's thought about at all. Enter the Canadian Business History course at the University of Toronto's Joseph L. Rotman School of Management. Introduced a year ago, it is the first ever offered at a Canadian business school, and the first offering under the L.R. Wilson/R.J. Currie Chair in Canadian Business History established at the school in 2004. Echoing Santayana, Roger Martin, dean of the Rotman School, says, "today's business leaders need to be able to place the business problems they face within a historical context. They need to understand business trends from the past so that they can ... anticipate future changes in the marketplace."

To that end, the course examines the success of Canadian capitalism compared to other capitalistic models; the positive or negative role of government in trade, tax, regulation, and other policies; Canada's shift from the British to the American orbit; and the shift of its commercial centre from Montreal to Toronto – the latter anticipating such questions as: Will the twenty-first century see Canada edge toward an Asian orbit? Will Canada's commercial centre shift from Toronto to Calgary?

To illuminate these questions, the course looks at events that have had a significant impact on shaping Canadian business, such as the 1879 Rupert's Land purchase, the 1871 Bank Act (see story, page 46), and the National Policy of 1878. The course also considers the impact of the automotive industry in Canada in its early years, the challenge Simpsons-Sears presented to Eaton's, and the impact of the 1988 Free Trade Agreement on two different industries – wine and energy.

Studying history may not entirely relieve business people from repeating mistakes of the past, but the Rotman School's Canadian Business History course director Joe Martin, a graduate in both history and business management, points to the observation of one business colleague who said: I like to study history so that I can make my *own* mistakes.

accounts in dollars instead of sterling. When this was done in 1858, banks quickly followed suit, and the treasury board in London gave way. Silver and bronze coins, denominated in cents and bearing the word "Canada" were issued for the first time in 1858, marking the birth of a distinctive Canadian currency. Yet it was still not a uniform currency, because banks notes were not accepted at par everywhere. When the Currency and Bank Acts were passed in 1871, Canadians were finally able to enjoy a standardized legal tender and a nationally regulated banking system (see sidebar for more on the history of Canadian banking).

And in 1871, it was Sir Francis Hincks who orchestrated the whole thing. He had just accepted the position of minister of finance under the Macdonald government (the previous minister of finance, John Rose, resigned when he was unable to get *his* banking bill passed). Once again, Hincks was entrusted with the unfinished business of regulating the banks and currency of the country.

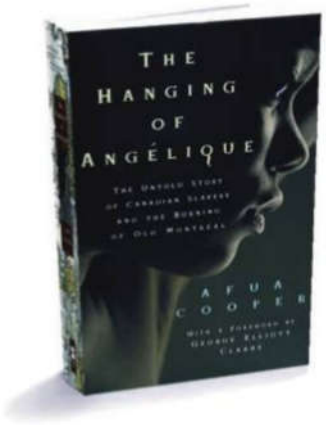
And there were still many loose ends. On February 15, 1870, Hincks terminated the special status of the Bank of Montreal, which had become the sole issuer of government notes. He then obtained the agreement of bankers to a bill that regulated the circulation of bank and government notes. To resolve the stalemate over the power to issue bank notes, a compromise was reached: the banks could issue notes in denominations of $4 or more – a power that they retained until 1935. He improved the government's position by requiring that each bank should hold at least one-half of its cash reserve in Dominion notes.

Though Hincks encountered some opposition from the banking industry, his first bank act passed. In 1871, the main provisions of the act were consolidated. In the spirit of compromise, all of the provisions of the 1871 act applied to the nineteen banks whose charters it renewed and to future bank charters. Hincks had succeeded in ending the banking stalemate by creating – and, most importantly, passing – general legislation that regulated, and applied equally to, the banks and currency in the country.

And what of the suspicions of corruption surrounding Sir Francis Hincks during the mid-1800s? Hincks and his associates were investigated from October 1854 until the end of April 1855. At the end, the committee reported that the evidence presented, which it determined was based on rumours and misunderstanding, would not support a charge of corruption. The committee was astounded that after all the rumours, no one appeared to make formal charges or to offer evidence. Clearly, Hincks did profit from his position of power. To this charge, he insisted that the acceptance of office should not have deprived him of his right to participate in (what he felt were) legitimate investments.

In 1856, Queen Victoria appointed Sir Francis Hincks governor of Barbados and the Windward Islands; after the accusations he had faced in Canada, this was well-received vindication.

Robert M. MacIntosh is past president of the Canadian Bankers' Association and the author of *Different Drummers: Banking and Politics in Canada*.



FIRESTARTER

The Hanging of Angélique:
The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montréal
by Afua Cooper
HarperCollins, Toronto, 2006
349 pp., $32.95 hardcover

"People of African descent, free and enslaved, have vanished from national narratives," Afua Cooper asserts in *The Hanging of Angélique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and The Burning of Old Montréal*. "It is possible to complete a graduate degree in Canadian studies and not know that slavery existed in Canada."

If her ambitious, scholarly, and tragic account of slavery in Canada – particularly in Quebec, before and after the British conquest in 1760 – has one goal, it is to incinerate any trace of Canadian smugness about our treatment of black people over the past four-hundred years. True, climate and population did not allow for the creation of massive plantations. Also true, most of the slaves in eighteenth-century Quebec were urban domestic workers, with half of them living in Montreal itself. But Canada upheld and enforced slavery for two centuries, and when slaves ran away or rebelled, our laws came down on them with vigour and violence.

Black history has been celebrated every February for some fifty years, but many Canadians still know little about it. Cooper is incensed that when it comes to black history, only the Underground Railroad – about which she has co-written a book – seems to have registered in the public consciousness. "Black history has less to do with Black people and more with White pride," Cooper writes. "If Black history narratives make Whites feel good, it [*sic*] is allowed to surface; if not, it is suppressed."

Cooper seeks to remedy this situation by documenting the earliest known and most dramatic case of slave rebellion in Canada.

On June 21, 1734, a Montreal judge oversaw the torture and execution of a twenty-nine-year-old black female slave named Marie-Joseph Angélique. Born in Portugal, brought to New England and eventually sold to a wealthy Montreal family when she was twenty, Angélique had been convicted of deliberately setting the fire that burned down the home of her slave mistress and destroyed forty-five other buildings – the entire business quarter, including the famed hospital, Hôtel-Dieu. Angélique denied the accusation during her trial, but confessed when the hangman and torturer – sadly and ironically, a black slave himself – smashed the bones in her legs. Later that day, she was hanged in public and her corpse was burned to ashes and scattered to the winds.

"The casting of the ashes was the final insult," Cooper writes. "It meant not only that the condemned was denied a funeral and a burial, but also that her spirit would roam the earth forever – in agony and despair."

Cooper, a poet and a University of Toronto history professor, spent fifteen years researching and writing this book. She sets the life of Angélique in the context of slavery in Canada, and the Americas at large. Forty-five pages meticulously document the role of the Portuguese, and subsequently the Dutch, Flemish, French, and British, in the kidnapping and purchasing of men, women, and children on the African coast and selling them across the Atlantic Ocean. She reminds readers that African slavery was thriving for a full century in Portugal – some 33,000 black slaves lived there by 1550 – before it finally crossed the ocean.

Cooper provides an overview of slavery in Canada, informing readers that many prominent statesmen were active slaveholders – such as Peter Russell, member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada and subsequently provincial administrator; and the Marquis Charles de Beauharnois and James Murray, both governors of Quebec.

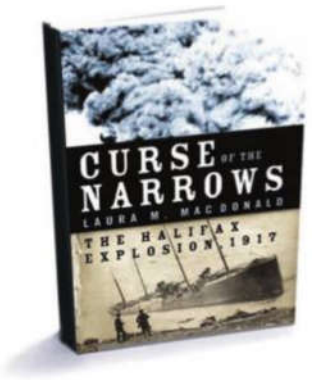
Cooper's most poignant section in *The Hanging of Angélique* is her detailed portrait of a young woman who ran away, was recaptured, threatened her mistress, and allegedly burned down much of Montreal to protest her enslavement (she had recently been resold and would have been sent to a new owner in Quebec City). Moving from an academic, general history of transatlantic slavery, Cooper zooms in on Angélique's personal struggles, and her rebellious and volatile actions of resistance.

Relying on court documents to fill in what little is known about the life of the Montreal slave, Cooper makes the bold assertion that Angélique trial transcripts constitute the first slave narrative in North America.

Time will tell whether other historians agree. Regardless of the outcome of that debate, Cooper has made an important contribution to Canadian history by reclaiming Angélique's story and insisting that we pay attention to it. As a result, it will be far more difficult to discuss our troubled and storied past without acknowledging the Portuguese-born Marie-Joseph Angélique, hanged in Montreal in 1734 for her violent protest against slavery.

Reviewed by **Lawrence Hill**, a novelist and nonfiction writer. His sixth book, a novel called *The Book of Negroes*, is scheduled for publication in 2007.

Reviews



CANADA'S 9/11

Curse of the Narrows: The Halifax Explosion, 1917
by Laura M. Mac Donald
HarperCollins, Toronto, 2005
346 pp., $36.95 hardcover

The last thing Helena Duggan remembered was "the roar and then the feeling of the floor rising up." Then she found herself in the basement of her school, atop "flooring, beams, bits of glass, paper, and plaster. She sat up and looked around for her classmates, but found she was alone in the dark."

Helena Duggan was nine on December 6, 1917, one of the youngest members of a large Irish Haligonian family. The Duggans lived in Richmond, the working-class district of Halifax adjoining the Narrows, where Halifax Harbour opens out to become Bedford Basin. At 9:04 a.m. Helena had just begun her school day when Richmond was obliterated by an almost unimaginable blast. The French munitions ship *Mont Blanc* collided with the Belgian relief vessel *Imo* in the Narrows, resulting in what was then the greatest man-made explosion in history.

The Halifax Explosion was the only occasion when the horrors of modern warfare were fully visited on an important Canadian city. Even now, in the atomic era, after a year of tsunamis, earthquakes, and hurricanes, the impact of the disaster is staggering. In a town of 50,000 the explosion killed more than 2,000, wounded 6,000 – many of them blinded by flying window glass – and in the bitter winter left 9,000 homeless. Within a twenty-five-kilometre radius not a single house was undamaged. The greatest war in history was raging in Europe, but no city anywhere had experienced such a catastrophe.

A major event is the fabric of small stories. Among the many merits of Laura Mac Donald's *Curse of the Narrows* is her diligent pursuit of many individual stories that make up the whole. A phrase such as "2,000 dead" doesn't begin to convey the experience of people such as Helena Duggan, whose extended family lost fifty-two people in the explosion. Nor does "9,000 wounded" describe the efforts of Dr. George Cox of New Glasgow who did nothing but treat and remove eyes for eighty-eight hours, with just five hours' sleep. When he was relieved, his scalpel was blunt and a bucket of eyes stared up at him.

This book is full of such close-ups but also covers the wider story. For example, because forty percent of Nova Scotia's men were already at war, the burden of recovery fell disproportionately on the women of Halifax, whose efforts were heroic. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the

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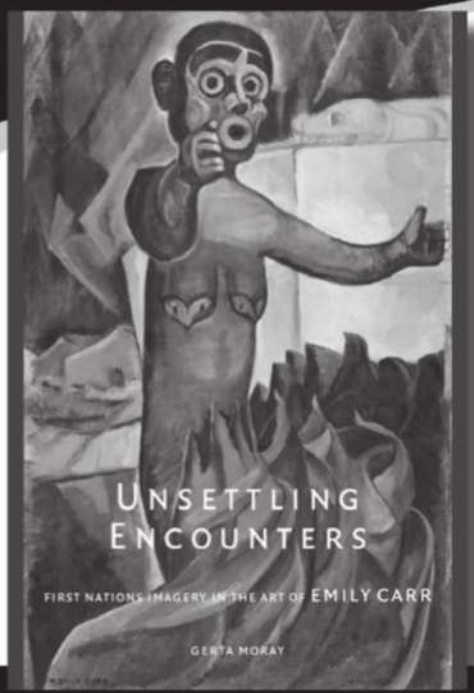

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– Ian Thom, Senior Curator, Historical, Vancouver Art Gallery

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– Charles C. Hill, Curator of Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada / Musée des beaux-arts du Canada

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aftermath is the speed of the response, despite the almost complete destruction of communications. Within half an hour, provincial and municipal leaders were meeting and citizens were volunteering at city hall. By noon an emergency morgue was operating. Makeshift hospitals sprang up. Schoolboy cadets ran through the broken streets carrying messages. At the request of the Halifax authorities, visiting American sailors were assigned to patrol the streets, while civilians frantically tore at the rubble.

Meanwhile, a railway executive had walked to a suburb and telegraphed the first news of the disaster. Just two hours after the explosion, the governor of Massachusetts authorized a train full of doctors and medical supplies. It arrived in Halifax the next morning, the first of many from as far away as New York and Western Canada. Nova Scotia's profound gratitude is expressed every year by the gift of a giant Christmas tree to the city of Boston.

The Halifax Explosion was Canada's September 11 – unexpected, unprecedented, horrendous. It was first thought to have been an attack by the Germans. Though it proved to be an accident, it was a wartime accident and it killed almost as many people as 9/11, in a vastly smaller city. Exhaustively researched and meticulously written, *Curse of the Narrows* is surely the definitive popular account of this terrible and wonderful story.

Reviewed by **Silver Donald Cameron**, a D'Escousse, Nova Scotia, writer.

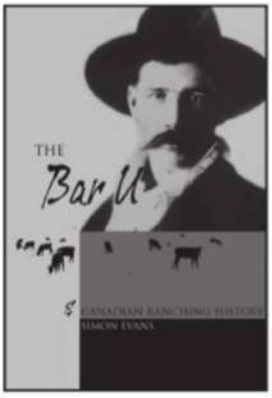
MORE BOOKS

Nothing is True, Everything is Permitted: The Life of Brion Gysin
by John Geiger
The Disinformation Company Ltd., New York, 2005
336 pp., illus., $35.95 hardcover

Canada's contributors to planetary hipness are likely few, but multimedia artist, poet, and novelist Brion Gysin (1916–1986) may be one of them. Though English-born, Gysin was raised in Edmonton, which would seem like a liability when it comes to hipness, but somehow he turned into one of those people who knew everyone who was anyone in the literary and artistic circles of his period: William Burroughs, Jean Genet, Gore Vidal, Timothy Leary, and the Rolling Stones, to name a few.

Through his decades in North Africa to his years at the Beat Hotel in Paris, Gysin drew others to him as a kind of Renaissance man of ideas, though at executing his own ideas he was less prolific than some of his peers. Still, he wrote *The History of Slavery in Canada*, contributed the recipe for hash brownies in Alice B. Toklas's famous cookbook, and introduced Burroughs, already a practitioner of non-linear style of writing, to the "cut-up" method of literary collage. Gysin was also a great self-mythologizer, but Geiger, an editorial writer for the *National Post*, has cut through the claptrap to produce a comprehensive, even-handed, and entertaining rendering of one of the original countercultural figures, semi-obscure no longer.

SUMMER READING FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS



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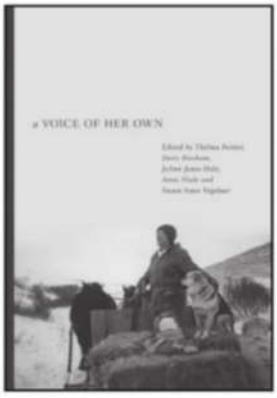

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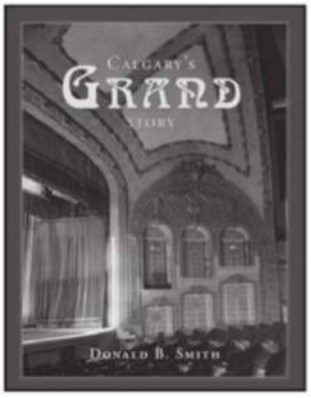

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Christopher Moore

A Short History of Barricades

Barricades come in many forms. The recent Six Nations barricade at Caledonia may be seen as the response to years of barricades of a more subtle nature.

Oka, Quebec, in 1990. Gustafson Lake, British Columbia, and Ipperwash, Ontario, in 1995. Burnt Church, New Brunswick, in 2000. In the spring of 2006, it was Douglas Creek Estates near Caledonia, Ontario, prompting that painfully familiar spectacle: barricades and guns around a First Nations community in Canada. Warriors and tactical squads. Protest and confrontation. Appeals to force displacing the rule of law in confrontations between Canada and the First Nations.

To many, it is irritating and frustrating that Canadian lands can produce such confrontations. Surely in this country we can establish who owns any particular piece of land? Wasn't this settled centuries ago?

In disputes about land and title to land, Canadians can usually rely on the rule of law, as the country has an interest in seeing justice done. The courts are impartial between the contending parties. There are winners and losers, but judgments are given and rulings accepted. In that context, most Canadians rarely see any justification for violence, for going outside the rule of law.

For Canadian First Nations, determining who owns land is usually a matter of treaty rights and treaty obligations and, beyond that, a matter of who gets to interpret the treaties. Caledonia and the other confrontations, recently seen or soon to come, are examples of what can happen when historic treaty rights are at stake.

When the Six Nations came to southern Ontario in 1784, they were guaranteed all the lands along both sides of the Grand River, some 385,000 hectares, "which them and their posterity are to enjoy forever," according to Governor Haldimand's grant. Today, the Six Nations' lands cover barely 19,000 hectares.

That enormous reduction occurred in stages between 1795 and 1850, but the events that seem crucial today occurred around 1841, when a group of chiefs agreed, or were coerced, into conceding all but a small portion of the remaining territory to the Crown. The legitimacy of that transfer has been debated ever since. Were the chiefs entitled to make the cession? Was it appropriate for the Crown to scheme for a bargain, or did it have an obligation to consider the interests of the Six Nations?

Native protesters man a barricade near Caledonia, Ontario, near Hamilton, spring 2006. In 1784, the Six Nations were guaranteed 385,000 hectares of land on both sides of the Grand River. Today, they hold less than five percent of the original grant.

The process by which the land was transferred hardly bears examination. But no one disputes that the agreement of 1841 provided that revenue from sales of the Crown's new property would be invested for the benefit of the Six Nations. In the 1840s (and since) these were prime development lands. Where did the money go?

Into the Crown's general revenues, by and large. One well-documented example of the Crown's use of "Indian monies" is the Grand River canal scheme of the 1830s. The canal project flooded valuable native cornfields, destroyed their fisheries, and encouraged white settlement on Six Nations land, and the Six Nations were powerless to stop it. Yet the Crown supported the canal company with "Indian monies" almost exclusively, and when the company went bankrupt, it was the Six Nations' capital that was lost. This type of conduct continued with revenues from the land sales from the 1841 deal.

The Crown began in 1835 to construct "Plank Road," Ontario's Highway 6, where the barricades went up in February 2006. Although Six Nations leaders eventually agreed to lease the land on either side, the Crown sold the tract that is now the site of the contentious housing development called Douglas Creek Estates in May 1848. The developer has clear title from the Crown, certainly, but what about the Crown's title?

It is impossible to look at Canada's land dealings with the Six Nations – and so many others – without discovering a sordid trail of deceit and exploitation. Does that justify barricades and guns? Isn't this what the courts are for?

But the Six Nations of the Grand River have fully utilized the judicial system over the past 150 years. They have appealed their land cases to Canadian courts, to Britain, and even to the League of Nations. And despite the sleazy deceptions and broken promises on which most of their territorial losses were so evidently based, the Six Nations has never won a case.

In the case of *Sero v. Gault*, back in 1921, the Six Nations presented the treaties that guaranteed them unlimited rights to hunt and fish. Justice Riddell

ADRIAN WILD/CP

responded by declaring that game laws applied to native peoples as to anyone else. "There are no troublesome uncertainties in Canadian law," he wrote. In *Logan v. Attorney General*, in 1959, the Six Nations traced their self-government rights back to their alliance with the British Crown in the American Revolution, an autonomy handsomely acknowledged in Haldimand's Grant. No, said Justice King, who declared that merely by settling, the Six Nations had become subjects of the Crown and are subject to the same rules as everyone else.

In recent decades, the Six Nations has been pursuing a more general land claim and treaty rights case, but the Crown is disputing it every step of the way. It may be decades before any ruling is heard. While it is hard to fathom that any non-native litigant presenting a similar case of dispossession would still be waiting for redress, neither Canadian courts nor Canadian governments seem able to acknowledge there is a problem – except the problem of the barricades. It takes our courts about a day to issue the injunctions that send in the tactical squads, but over generations, they seem incapable of addressing root issues of titles and rights.

Are the barricades justified, therefore? Clearly, violence has best rewarded those who are good at violence. It damages normal political life within First Nations communities and often erodes the prospect of settlements based on trust. But it has to be acknowledged that for First Nations, non-violence has also been a spectacular failure for 150 years. The Crown that declares itself responsible for native peoples has been their worst enemy, and the Canadian courts have consistently played for the home team against the native one.

Are there actions that can be taken to turn First Nations communities away from barricades and resistance? It has to begin with an acknowledgement that Canada's treaty obligations are serious. Governments and courts cannot simply accept the parts that work (essentially, taking ownership of Canada) and ignore the commitments made in exchange, whether in land, in rights, or in self-governance.

The hundreds of thousands of Canadians who live on what used to be the Six Nations' original 385,000 hectares are not going to move away. The cities, highways, businesses, and homes built on that land are not going to be demolished. Even the new homes built at Douglas Creek Estates are unlikely to vanish. But will Canada never accept the consequences of its historic treaty commitments?

Christopher Moore lives in Toronto, where the land treaty that underpins property titles also guaranteed the Mississauga a perpetual right to hunt and fish. There is not much game left in Toronto.

Bringing Canadian History to life...

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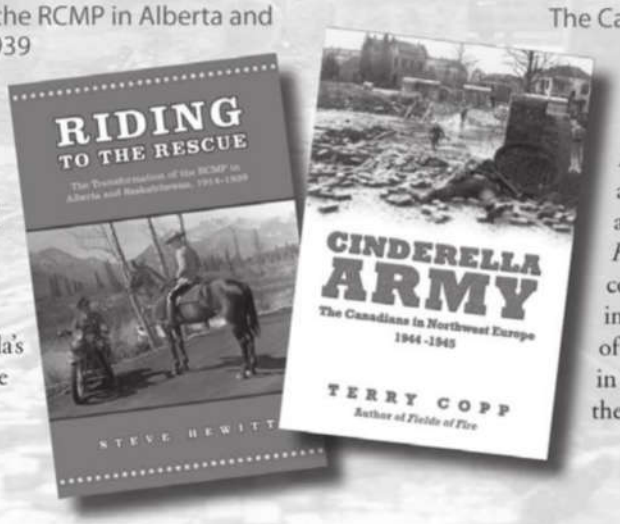

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As passionately written and compellingly argued as its precursor *Fields of Fire* (2003), this book continues the story of the impressive achievements of the First Canadian Army in the last nine months of the war.

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The doorway of the Batoche rectory is riddled with bullet holes from the Battle of Batoche.

D. GRANT BLACK

Rebellion Route

Peace reigns over farm country north of Saskatoon today. But as D. Grant Black discovers, the landscape is scored with reminders of battle.

A drive along the Trans-Canada Highway, Saskatchewan's main transportation artery, doesn't reveal the significant historical sites directly north. The 1885 North-West Rebellion might only be a memory blip from history class for most Canadians, yet in this province, it's common knowledge.

Five historic sites, including two forts, are important Canadian military, trade, and cultural history locales. They're all hidden in central Saskatchewan farm country within a few hours' drive of Saskatoon.

If you go, two action-packed days await, or three meandering ones if you prefer to linger and smell the saddle leather and gunpowder. Don't forget Saskatchewan receives the most sun year-round of any province. If it's high summer, bring your hat and sunscreen – and drive an air-conditioned vehicle.

Your first stop should be where it all started, at Batoche, a mere eighty-eight-kilometre jaunt northeast of Saskatoon.

Located in the South Saskatchewan River valley, Batoche was the headquarters of Métis leader Louis Riel's short-lived provisional government. This is where Canada's only civil war was ultimately decided through violent action. Opened in 1923, the Batoche National Historic Site portrays Métis culture and heritage from 1860 to 1900. The impressive visitor reception centre, with its bevy of artifacts, houses a theatre that depicts the story of the 1885 uprising in a forty-two-minute multimedia presentation.

The 364-hectare site is broken into four areas, and if you go, you'll need at least four hours to adequately absorb Batoche. A ten-minute walk across an open field from the entrance leads to the only original structures, a stunning white Catholic church and rectory, built in the early 1880s. Bullet holes are visible in the rectory walls from the Battle of Batoche where, outnumbered and short of ammunition, the Métis surrendered on May 12 after only four days of fighting. The rebellion's final clash involved fewer than three-hundred lightly armed Métis in rifle pits against Major-General Frederick Middleton's eight-hundred North-West Field Force members and several cannons.

Batoche's landscape consists of undulating parkland with brush-filled sections,

D. GRANT BLACK

Fort Battleford showcases the North–West Mounted Police.

perfect for Métis rifle pits. Riel's military leader, Gabriel Dumont, escaped after the battle and joined Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show in the U.S. for a few years. Amnesty was given to the Métis in 1886 by John A. Macdonald, and Dumont eventually returned to the area. He's now safely buried under a sizeable stone in the church cemetery.

Thirty kilometres south is the Battle of Fish Creek National Historic Site commemorating the April 24 skirmish between Gabriel Dumont's Métis, native forces, and the Canadian militia that delayed the Battle of Batoche. Although the site has no facilities or services, it includes a scenic drive beside the South Saskatchewan River and Fish Creek to the stone cairn and gravesite of a militia member killed that day.

Straight west of Batoche, fifty kilometres via the St. Laurent vehicle ferry or along Highways 11 and 212, is Fort Carlton. Situated on a flat plain beside the North Saskatchewan River, this Hudson's Bay Company post, built in 1810, was the most active fur-trading hub in the region. It was abandoned during the Métis uprising and was subsequently looted and burned.

The reconstructed fort includes the palisade, stores for fur, provisions, and trade, plus a clerk's quarters. Outside the walls stands a teepee encampment. The remnants of the old Carlton Trail are still visible from the deep ruts left by Red River carts. The River Walk is a short path from the fort gates to the river where boatmen and freighters once hauled their goods.

On your second day as a battlefield tourist visit Fort Battleford National Historic Site, which is only a one-and-a-half-hour drive northwest from Saskatoon. The fort's reconstructed palisades, on a plateau above the Battle River, commemorate the defensive role of the North-West Mounted Police at the fort from 1876 to 1885.

Five original buildings still stand, including the commanding officers' residence where Inspector Francis Dickens, the often-maligned son of author Charles Dickens, was stationed.

I'm an armaments buff. If that's also your interest, there are a few things you should see. In summer, Fort Battleford stages a historic-weapons program several times daily where one officer and three constables dressed in NWMP scarlet tunics and leather boots fire their seven-pound cannon and small arms inside the fort. Barracks No. 5, located outside the stockade, houses a brass Gatling gun, and on the road back to Battleford, the Fred Light Museum displays a sizeable gun collection.

If you're still keen to keep touring, sixty kilometres west of Fort Battleford is the site of the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. This is where Colonel Otter and 325 men foolishly rode to confront an estimated 1,500 Cree, Assiniboine, and Métis camped at Chief Poundmaker's Cut Knife Reserve – without Middleton's orders. Eight dead and sixteen wounded later, the hapless Otter and company were generously allowed a reprieve by Chief Poundmaker, so they quietly stole back to Fort Battleford. It could have been Canada's Little Bighorn.

If only Louis Riel had been so lucky.

D. Grant Black is a freelance writer and editor whose paternal great-grandparents arrived in present-day Saskatchewan in 1884 from Scotland's Hebrides. He lives a thirty-minute drive from Batoche.

If you go ...

DAWN HUCK

The Batoche National Historic Site is located 88 kilometres northeast of Saskatoon. Head north on Highway 11 to Rosthern, east on Highway 312, then north on Highway 225. The Fish Creek Battlefield site is 15 kilometres south of Highway 312 at the Highway 225/312 junction to Batoche. Watch for the Parks Canada signs to both sites.

Fort Carlton Provincial Park is 110 kilometres north of Saskatoon. Take Highway 11 to Duck Lake, then head west on Highway 212. The route is well marked. Fort Carlton can also be reached via the St. Laurent vehicle ferry over the South Saskatchewan River, 10 kilometres north of Batoche. This is a free seasonal service.

Fort Battleford National Historic Site is located 153 kilometres northwest of Saskatoon on Highway 16 (the Yellowhead Route). The fort is located 5 kilometres southeast of North Battleford on the town of Battleford's south side. Follow the Parks Canada signs.

A cairn 50 kilometres west of Battleford on Highway 40 near the town of Cut Knife marks Cut Knife Hill Battlefield Site.

Sites included in this article are open on a seasonal basis. For further information, contact:

Fort Battleford National Historic Site
P.O. Box 70
Battleford, SK S0M 0E0
T: (306) 937-2621
W: www.parkscanada.ca

Fort Carlton Provincial Historic Park
102-112 Research Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7K 2H6
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P.O. Box 999
Rosthern, SK S0K 3R0
T: (306) 423-6227
W: www.parkscanada.ca

Your Story

On Weekends He Painted

Jay Ashmore reflects on his grandfather's understated legacy.

My grandfather died when I was eleven. Not too many kids have the presence of mind to ask their grandparents those questions that tend to surface in later years. You can get some answers from your parents, but the really important questions never get discussed around the dinner table.

Cyril Ashmore was a painter. More specifically, he was a commercial artist who squeezed in his true calling as a watercolourist whenever he had time to spare. I have never seen watercolours as beautiful or as stirring. My father says it's his skies; no one can do skies like him. Not a plain blue one in the bunch. Skies are usually an afterthought in watercolours precisely because of their perceived simplicity. A couple of washes over the canvas and you're done. The average artist is concentrating on the subject, not the background, and this may be fine until it is compared to a sky that has been thoughtfully conceived and beautifully executed. Such a sky can elevate the entire work to another level. My grandfather's work exists on that level.

Born in Sheffield in 1894 to a mother who was forty-five and already had four older sons (half brothers to Cyril), my grandfather was mainly raised by two spinster aunts. At nine he immigrated to Canada with his mother, joining his father in Manitoba. As I piece Cyril together from pictures, stories, and subtle clues in his art, I come away with the distillation of a man who lived a great deal in his own head. This is apparent in the vast loneness, but not *loneliness*, of his work. The landscapes speak for themselves and there is always an echo.

ERNEST ASHMORE

Gathering Storm **was painted on a trip in 1950 to the Whiteshell area of Manitoba. It captures a sense of expectation and foreboding that only an imminent prairie thunderstorm can provide.**

My grandfather learned to draw through a correspondence course just before volunteering to serve in World War I. After complimenting him on his innate artistic talent, the drawing instructor was nice enough to wish him a safe return from the war. It was stated casually, as though he was going to Europe to sightsee.

Perhaps my grandfather's work would have reflected a more buoyant disposition had he not been shell-shocked in France. "The last thing I remembered was the French countryside upside down," he recalled. While his war injury served as a ticket out of that terrible place, Cyril carried the horrors with him until he died. He had been struck while sitting in a machine-gun nest overlooking the battlefield. The trauma manifested itself as a stutter, pushing an already shy and retiring young man even further into himself. In public, Cyril had to contend with not being properly understood, or worse, ridiculed. Best to keep external expression to a minimum. Drinking diminished his stutter and proved to be, aside from painting, a welcome sanctuary.

After returning home from the war, Cyril began a fifty-year career at Brigden's, a commercial art firm in Winnipeg. It proved to be a hotbed for artistic genius. One of my grandfather's greatest strengths at Brigden's was his high productivity – ironic, considering his relatively small output as a watercolourist. He could work quickly and with great skill under intense deadline pressures, churning out advertising, billboards, and wonderfully detailed Eaton's catalogue drawings. In 2001, some of his work was included in a Brigden's retrospective at the Winnipeg Art Gallery.

One of my grandfather's friends at Brigden's in the early 1920s was the well-regarded Canadian war artist Charles Comfort. Comfort admired Cyril's talent and painted a portrait of him during those heady days, capturing a palpable longing and distance in his eyes (which I have no trouble believing was an intuitively accurate rendering). L.L. Fitzgerald, who also resided in Winnipeg and was the last member of the Group of Seven, was also an acquaintance and admirer, as were famed *Saturday Evening Post* illustrator and fellow Brigden's alumnus Robert Fawcett; Hal Foster, the originator of the *Prince Valiant* comic strip; and his closest friend, Charlie Thorson, one of Walt Disney's greatest animators. Thorson, who created

Snow White, knew my grandfather well enough to warn him against seeking work in Los Angeles, convinced that the hyper-competitive and poisonous atmosphere would "eat him up."

Despite Cyril's connections with many talented and influential people, a clipping of a Tom Thomson article speaks more to his way of seeing things artistically than anything else. It wasn't until I went through some of his papers and found the article that it struck me how much Thomson's style influenced him. Thomson evoked a mood and singularity of vision that also resonates in my grandfather's work.

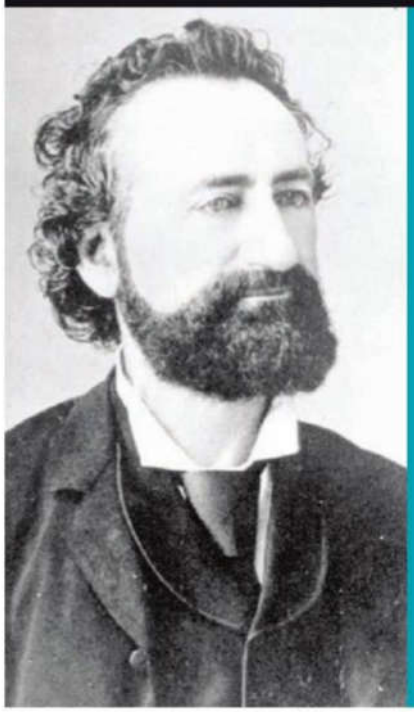
Cyril's greatest weakness, I suppose, was his disdain for self-promotion. While he lived and worked in a city that was isolated and small, it was still easy to remain anonymous. He had some pieces on display in a small show at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in the late 1940s, but outside of friends, family, and a few local admirers his work has gone largely unnoticed. I'm sure any kind of serious attention or spotlight would have made him uneasy.

My grandfather died in October 1977. The following year our family, with the assistance of a local art gallery, put together a proper one-man show. Finally his beautiful collection of work was displayed. Though quite young, a feeling of pride swelled in me to see how people marvelled at his talent. Many paintings were sold at that show; to my great regret, I don't know where most of them are today.

Cyril had one little surprise left for us. When going through his collection to prepare it for the show, my grandmother came across a self-portrait – the perfect bookend to Comfort's study. It was obviously done in Cyril's last years. In it, he stares back at us coolly, his thoughts swirling, but firmly tucked away. Victories, frustrations, and resolve can all be seen at once, and an acceptance of things past and still to come. The last thing you notice, if you look hard enough, is a hand-rolled cigarette dangling from his firmly set mouth, unconcerned that it's barely visible.

Jay Ashmore is a writer, history buff, and barkeep living in Toronto.

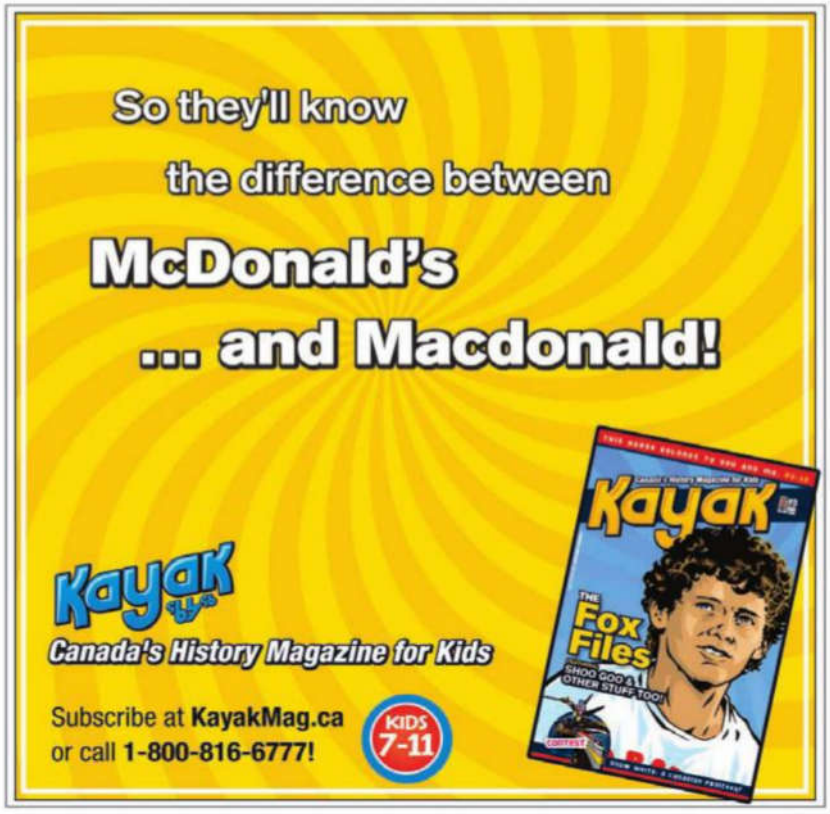
Coming in *The Beaver* October • November



Amor De Cosmos: A Different Drummer
A man who renames himself "Lover of the Universe" ushers British Columbia into provincehood with visionary lover's demands.
BY NORM AND CAROL HALL

Canada's Flu Season: 1918
The Spanish flu epidemic brings a chilling foretaste of the modern Avian threat.
BY SUSAN GOLDENBERG

The War that Made Canada
England and France battle for North America 250 years ago and change our country forever. A look at the Seven Years' War.
BY WILLIAM F. FOWLER



News from Canada's National History Society

History Matters

Canada's National History Society
publisher of **The Beaver** *Canada's History Magazine* and
Kayak *Canada's History Magazine for Kids*

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Catherine Burns, Director, Finance & Development
Patricia Gerow, Accountant
Linda Onofreychuk, Executive Assistant

Founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history, the work of Canada's National History Society includes **The Beaver**, the **Governor General's Awards for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History** to honour the country's best history teachers, and the **Pierre Berton Award** to recognize those who have brought history to a wider audience.

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The Beaver was founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the ***Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation***.

The History Society held its Annual General Meeting on June 24, 2006, electing a new chair of the History Society.

René Durocher has been a member of the board since 2000, and has served on the Audit and Finance Committee, the Development Committee, and the Advocacy and Outreach Committee. He has had a full and distinguished career as a senior administrator and academic researcher. With this appointment, Mr. Durocher becomes the first academic historian, and the first francophone to become chair of Canada's National History Society.

Also elected to the board of directors are:

Jerry Zucker is the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Chairman President and Chief Executive Officer of The InterTech Group, Inc. Mr. Zucker is the chair of the Hudson's Bay History Foundation and the South Carolina Aquarium, and is President of the Coastal Carolina Council – Boy Scouts of America and is involved with a number of other charitable organizations. In 2003, Mr. Zucker received the Order of the Palmetto, South Carolina's highest civilian honour.

Robert Johnston is vice-president strategic planning for the South Carolina based InterTech Group. He holds an MBA from the John Molson School of Business as well as a Master's degree in Public Policy and Public Administration and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Concordia University. Mr. Johnston currently serves as a director of several public and private companies, including Hudson's Bay Company. Born and raised in Montreal, Mr. Johnston is fully bilingual, remains a Canadian citizen, and maintains a residence in Montreal West, Quebec.

Brian Young is currently the James McGill professor of history and has taught at McGill since 1975. A founding member of the Montreal History Group, a research collective based in the History Department, Young's research interests centre on the social and cultural experience of the nineteenth-century Quebec elite. His publications range from the widely read text, co-authored with John Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec* to his recent *Respectable Burial: A History of Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery*. He was recently awarded a Canada Council for the Arts Killam Research Fellowship for his work *Patrician Families in Lower Canada/ Quebec, 1760–1840*. He is a graduate of Queen's University, and a past board member of the McCord Museum and the Canadian Historical Association.

With these new appointments, four long-serving board members stepped down. In recognition of their contributions to the History Society, the C.E.O. and the incoming Chair of the History Society presented lifetime memberships in the Society to:

DEBORAH MORRISON

On May 12, the History Society, along with the Manitoba Archives and Manitoba Museum, presented their Annual Reports to the new Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and the HBC History Foundation. Pictured here from left to right are incoming History Society Chair René Durocher, Jerry Zucker (Governor of Hudson's Bay Company), Maureen Dolyniuk (HBC Archives), Kathleen Epp (HBC Archives), and E. James Arnett, outgoing chair and member of the History Society Board.

Marianne Fedori, past chair of the Advocacy and Outreach Committee, who resigned from the board in November, 2005.

Joanne Burgess, who joined the board in 2000 and chaired the Publications Committee for the past five years. During her term, Ms. Burgess oversaw the development of a new strategic plan for the History Society's publishing operations as well as the planning and launch of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids.*

Fernand Harvey also joined the board in 2000 providing support and direction to *The Beaver* through the Publications Committee, facilitating the History Society's first major public outreach event in Quebec in 2002, when Quebec City and the Société d'histoire du Québec hosted the second National Conference of Provincial and Territorial Historical Societies.

The History Society also paid special tribute to **E. James Arnett** who was recruited to the board of directors in 1999 and elected as chair in 2002. With Mr. Arnett's leadership, the History Society has responded well to the significant challenges facing an organization in the publishing business, which relies on charitable fundraising to achieve its goals. The History Society has developed new strategic directions, established innovative programs, and adopted a disciplined approach to its governance and financial management. We deeply appreciate his generosity and commitment, and his counsel will be sorely missed.

A complete list of the board of directors, along with a copy of the 2005 Annual Report and Condensed Financial Statements are available to members for review on our website, HistorySociety.ca

We Have a Winner!

Gordon Bennett of Ottawa, Ontario, was thrilled to learn that his name had been drawn on February 15, 2006 as the winner of *The Beaver*'s 85th anniversary Newfoundland and Labrador contest. Though he has visited Labrador, he has never been to Newfoundland. He plans to travel with his wife.

MICHEL GROLEAU

Gordon Bennett, *The Beaver*'s 85th anniversary Newfoundland and Labrador contest winner.

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CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

Dynamic Duo: The Canadian Abo

Not one, but two winners were chosen among this year's submissions for the Canadian Aboriginal Youth Writing Challenge, presented by Enbridge Inc. and organized by the Dominion Institute. Aboriginal students, from two age categories – ages 14–18 and 19–29 – from across Canada were invited to write a story about a defining moment in Aboriginal history. The winner of the 14–18-year-old age group is Alicia Elliott. This 18-year old is from Ohsweken, Ontario, and is a member of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. Her winning story is called "Across the Barricade."

The winner of the 19–29-year-old age group is Sable Sweetgrass. She is 29 and hails from Calgary, Alberta. She is a member of the Kainai Nation and attends the University of Calgary. Her story is called "Maternal Ties." The winning stories were selected by an advisory committee of aboriginal authors and leaders, including Chief Patrick Brazeau, Tantoo Cardinal, Tomson Highway, Lee Maracle, Brian Maracle, Rachel A. Qitsualik, Drew Hayden Taylor, and Tresley Tourond. Alicia and Sable are scheduled to read their stories at an official presentation in Ottawa on September 28, 2006.

Maternal Ties

by Sable Sweetgrass

Sable Sweetgrass

When I graduated back in 2011 from the Faculty of Law at the University of Calgary, I was wearing my family's elk tooth dress underneath a purple graduation robe. I had asked the grad committee if I would be able to wear the dress alone, but my request was denied.

I decided to wear it anyway, underneath their robe. Just before my name was called I planned to slip off my shoes and put on my grandma Annie's moccasins, which were tucked under my arms, beneath the robe. My grandma Annie was there, so were my mom and dad, and I had asked them to look at my feet when I went up to accept my degree, so that they could tell I had the dress on underneath.

My mom says that when she found the elk tooth dress at the Glenbow Museum twenty-five years ago, she also found Sikotan's amulet in a box containing dozens of other baby cord amulets. Sikotan's English name was tagged to both the dress and the amulet: Mary Theresa Crying Head. When mom pressed the amulet between her fingers she could feel her grandmother and great-grandmother's umbilical cord still inside.

Mom was a nursing aid at the Indian Hospital in Cardston at the time. She went to the museum to assist the elders who were brought there to help the curators obtain more information on their Blackfoot artifacts. She said that the storage area was like a maze of wall-sized cabinets filled to capacity with the belongings of our people. Mom and the other people assisting the elders stood still and silent as the curators opened one cabinet after another. They saw rattles, whistles, ceremonial clothing and headdresses, medicine shields, pipes, and bundles. Cabinet after cabinet held more Kainai history: children's clothing, men's clothing, dolls, weapons, moccasins, tipis, story robes, winter counts, the list went on and on. Mom asked the curators where the elk tooth dresses were located. She said that as she and the curator approached the cabinets that held all these women's dresses, the doors of the cabinet were already open. Sikotan's dress was in there, in the first drawer mom pulled out.

Mom stood by the dress taking off the white gloves that were mandatory in the museum's collection area and started counting the elk teeth, running her fingers along the stitching, wanting so badly to put the dress on, to take it home. She found several strands of long gray hairs stuck in the fastenings of the elk teeth, and delicately placed them inside one of the white gloves, then the gloves into her pocket.

One of the elders cried out that she had found her baby cord amulet and mom went over to her. In a long rectangular metal box lay dozens of amulets; one of them back around the neck of its owner. The elder who found the amulets started pulling out the rest of them and reading out the few with names printed on them. One of the names, Mary Theresa Wells, was the English name of my great-grandmother Sikotan.

Mom says that she returned to the cabinet that held her grandma's dress. There was an item card sitting next to it and she turned it over. The owners' name, Mary Theresa Wells, was printed on it, as well as the name of the person who sold it to the museum, Annie Crying Wolf.

My name would be called next. I took my grandma Annie's moccasins from under my arms and dropped them to the floor. I removed my shoes with my feet and bent over to pull on the moccasins. "Mary Stands Alone," they called out and I stood up. I made my way toward the stage, the elk teeth under my robe clicking together with each step; people were clapping and several camera flashes came from the back of the auditorium where my mom and grandma were sitting. I went up the seven steps to the top looking across the stage floor toward the university president who waited for me to accept my degree. I stopped and stood still for a moment.

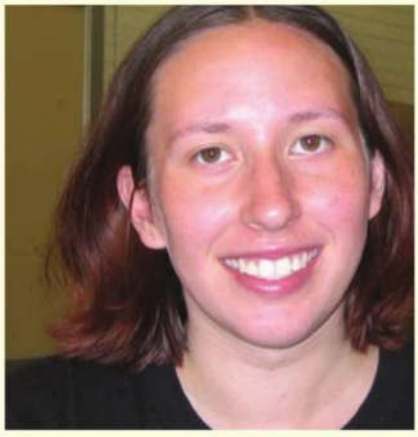
It seemed like forever that I stood on that stage at the top of the steps,

but it was only a few seconds. It took me only a few seconds to make up my mind to do what I did. I took off my purple graduation robe, pulling it over my head to get it off. The clapping died down instantly and I could hear people talking and some people snickering.

The robe was off and I hung it over my right arm in front of me and continued on to the podium. I stood next to the president and accepted my degree, taking it from her as she gave a faint, polite smile. I had on my family's elk tooth dress, though not the dress that was made for my great grandmother Sikotan, which was still locked up in museum storage. Instead, I was wearing the elk tooth dress that my mom and grandma had spent that past year making for me. What I did have that belonged to my great-grandmother Sikotan was the baby cord amulet. Inside it were Appanii and Sikotan's umbilical cords, worn to keep the ties of mother and daughter strong.

Across the Barricade

by Alicia Elliott



Alicia Elliott

If you're a middle-class Caucasian male like me, your life is measured in how many victims you make of different minority groups. You can never be the victim; political correctness forbids it.

Following this line of thinking, the so-called "racist card" is only available in non-white communities' decks. Obviously it's a trump no matter what is played before it. This gives me little faith in Canada.

My city is being held hostage by Indians. Any attempt to protest this is being stamped as "racist" by every minority-loving media outlet in the country. My government has done nothing to stop the Indians from blocking our roads. The police have not acted on a court injunction to remove the protesters from the land they are occupying. Since the moment Caledonia residents started voicing objections, we've had to wear the ugly label of "racist."

After seeing this and experiencing this, Canada isn't the country I thought it was at all. It's merely the country equivalent of a gawky boy too afraid to stand up to the school bully.

The same people I see right now across the police lines and tarp-laden barricades not three months ago were living in harmony with the town of Caledonia. No one would ever have thought something was wrong. We had no idea what level of hatred laid behind their stoic courtesy.

The part that they overlooked was the history of the lands they say are theirs. Everyone in Caledonia knows by now that the Natives sold their land to Canada in 1841. Conveniently for them, however, time is on their side.

The Ipperwash inquiry is still looming over Canada, making the government too afraid to assert anything against any Native, criminal or not.

Things will never be the same.

I've seen their angry eyes on the television and read their spiteful words in the newspaper. Though I haven't actually been to one of Caledonia's displays of aggression and prejudice parading as a protest, I feel like they are glaring at me, screaming at me through the flat images. Fear is not a strong enough word to describe this horrible isolation.

Up until that first rally, my long ebony hair and dark skin were emblems of pride, wordlessly announcing to all my Mohawk heritage. Now I wish I could disappear from or mask others' glances, and to choose who finds that out about me.

I wish I could cross the barriers just once and talk to the Caledonians without them turning off their ears and closing their minds upon seeing the colour of my skin. Maybe if I could explain to them what really happened in 1841, they would stop harassing us and get angry with the real criminal here – Canada.

As soon as we were given six miles on either side of the Grand River by the British Crown, the Canadian government wasted no time using slippery wording and outright fraud to steal it away.

The supposed surrender of the Haldimand Tract was an optical illusion orchestrated by Canada. It would appear that land was surrendered because there are signatures on the document. Look close enough, however, and you see the magician wasn't really a magician at all, but a con artist.

During a secret meeting between a small number of chiefs and Canada, the few Confederacy chiefs were led to believe that they had no power to stop the building of Plank Road over the Haldimand Tract, today known as Highway 6. Seven people at that meeting supposedly signed a surrender. Yet, one of the signatories was not a chief, and one of the chiefs claimed he was never at the meeting to begin with. His signature seems to have been forged.

Regardless, the five valid chiefs' signatures were not even close to the fifty required for any agreement to be good.

In addition, the money agreed to in the supposed surrender was never accounted for.

I do know that I cried for hours after finding out my brother was one of those attacked while I was at home sleeping. I know that he has a criminal record now for trying to correct an injustice done to our people years ago.

I know that I don't remember what it was like to go grocery shopping with my mother in Caledonia without being afraid.

Still, their unfeeling eyes burn into me from across the barricade.

Things will never be the same.

Album

Millard Barteaux, who submitted this photograph, is the brother of Alpin Barteaux. He lives in Gimli, Manitoba.

High and dry

The highest tides in the world occur in the Bay of Fundy. This has consequences. One day in 1939 several of the brothers Barteaux, sons of lighthouse keeper Vance Barteaux, were rounding the point at Cape d'Or in the rough waters of the Minas Channel known as the "Dory Rips" when the fishing boat they were navigating hit a wedge in the rocks. There was little to do but wait, and wait they did, until the tide went out and they could walk ashore. The wedged boat, however, perhaps not unlike a certain ark as certain floodwaters receded, remained absurdly high and fairly dry, perched on its own miniature Mount Ararat. It was a sight too uncommon not to record. Alpin Barteaux's camera was five miles away in Advocate Harbour. It was worth the walk.

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Or email your submission to album@thebeaver.ca. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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